

Kings and Coins in India

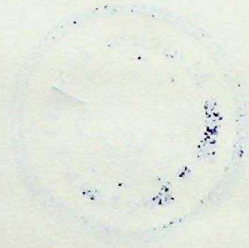
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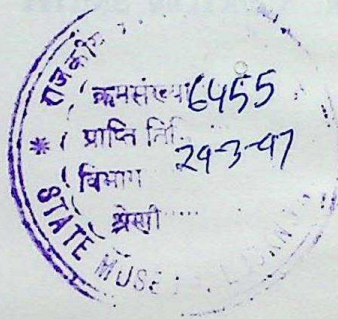
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Preface

Before radio-carbon the earliest absolute Indian chronology has depended on outside sources, especially Greek, as is still true of the Purāṇa fixed back to 544/3 in my *Dates & Dynasties*. This work is intended to fix the Indo-Greek, Saka and Parthian kings, though claiming more success for the beginning and end than in the Disruption period in the middle. While recognizing that the most lasting Greek legacy is coinage with the issuer's name, and so not profoundly significant for culture, this should not be without some use and interest.

Toronto

R. MORTON SMITH

11 August, 1995

Abbreviations

Metals

AE	:	copper/bronze/cupro-nickel (rare)
AR	:	silver
AV	:	gold
b	:	billon
PL	:	lead

Denominations :

A	Attic standard	x	chalchus (AE) 2.125 gm
D	drachma (AR)	d	2-chalchi (AE)
F	20-D	e	one eighth
H	6-chalchi (AE)	h	half-
K	10-chalchi (AE)	o	obol AE
L	lepton (= ho)	p	5-chalchi (AE)
O	obol (AR)	q	quarter-
P	Persian standard	tr	3-chalchi (AE)
S	stater	te	4-chalchi (AE)
T	tetradrachm (4D)	AET	" (AE) 2.42 gm standard

A is prefixed to Attic standard e.g. Ao = Attic obol, AE to heavy AE standard, e.g. AEo = heavy obol 1.25 gm.

Kings and Coins in India

Place: L left

obv obverse x/y = mark x on obv, mark y on rev

rev reverse -/ = no mark obv, /-none rev, - no mark

R right

u under

U over

Family: b brother b born

d daughter ob died

f father, gf grandfather

m married

s son

w wife

General : bil. bilingual

Br brahmi writing

B&R bead-and-real ornament

c or ca about

GK Greek

ill. illustration under denomination in MM

Kh Kharoshthi writing

pl plate (in other works)

r round (coin or GK letter)

ref reference

S supplement

sq square (ditto)

From Diodotus to Pacores

Diodotus I satrap 246 king 235-28

Diodotus II 228-1

Euthydemus I satrap 221-03. king 203-190

Demetrius I 190-68 sub-kings 182-67

Eucratides I 168-54

Menander I 158-48 sub-kings Antimachus II, Zoilus I 154-44

Strato I 148-37 - 128-01 Agathocleia regent 148-3

Heliocles 145-29

Eucratides II 129-16

Plato 116-01

Sub-kings to Strato I

Antialcidas 103-95

Theophilus 94-1

Archebius 91-79

Maues 88-68

Apollodotus II 84-67

Vonones & sub-kings

Zoilus II 65-42

Hippostratus 61-46

Menander II,

Lysias 101-95

Polyxenus 91-0

Nicias 90-86

Arsaces 79-8

Epander 74-69

(Spalahora/Spalagadama/Spalirises 67-58)

Dionysius 65-2

Strato II 42-32

Philoxenus 108-0

Diomedes 100-091

Peucolaus 90-89

Artemidorus 90-83

Telephus 76-5

Amyntas 69-58

Apollophanes 59-5

Strato III 36-24

Hermaeus 58-24

Bhadrayaśas 24-2

Azes I 58-30

Azilises 31-09

Azes II -10-+19

satraps Kharaosta & Rajuvula -18-+8

Satraps Indravarman & Aspavarman -3-+23

Zeionises 21-36

Gondophar 19-48 Clan, Sassan 23-53 Orthagnes 30-51 Otanes 52

Abdagases 39-63 Kujula Kadphises 53-8 Pacores 58-63

Sōtēr Mēgas 63-78-c 85 Wima Kadphises 78-c 127

Introduction

1 As my chief interest is in understanding the development of Indian culture, how and why it is so different from others, I have spent much time and labour in seeking a chronology that makes sense, though exact dates can be few in the early period and in the impersonal and timeless society do not have the importance they have in Western history. In my *Dates & Dynasties Pt I the Kings* I dealt with the secular side, establishing a critical text of the Purāṇa: the important task was then to integrate the religious, which awaits publication in Pt III, the Brahmins. Of this *The White Yajur Veda Vamśa* was published in East and West, ISMEO 1966 (since integrated with the SāmaVeda vamśas), and in Indologia Taurinensis Vol. II 1974, *The Early Heresies in the Development of Indian Religion*. For completeness some words on the Indo-Greek/Scythian chronology should be useful, though the wars and dates of the Greek and Hellenized Kings of the NorthWest are of little importance for the essential history of India, if of some for the art; but if one small thing can be put right, it is ultimately helpful.

2 Some apology is needed. I do not call myself a numismatist; but numismatic results must make historical sense, and the numismatist needs the historian though the latter needs him. I would not have ventured to deal with coins but for an unanticipated and unsought result in an annual sequence of coinage from the later years of Euthydemus I to Pacores, which does seem to make historical sense, offering no absurdities. A synopsis appeared in ABORI Diamond Jubilee Vol.

1977-8, but there was no space for argumentation. This we now give with improvements and reworking, having been able to consult what was meant to be the definitive work by M Mitchiner (MM). This was unfortunately a frustrating business; illustrations and coverage are irreproachable, but here his superiority to A N Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta 1965 (La), ends. We found a troublesome number of wrong references; text and illustration differ too often, mintmarks are amalgamated and their drawings in the text often do not resemble the reality or the versions in other catalogues. Indian private collections are ignored, and while MM could not be expected to check them personally, their rare or unique coins should not be ignored or dismissed as non-existent or forged. Lahiri was certainly right to include them, and this shows the necessity of cooperative work. In sum, MM needs far too much checking. I have felt obliged to use his numbering of types, but have used only one number (normally tetradrachm), as denomination only is hardly enough to make a different type.

3 Lahiri's work, to which we are very grateful, cannot be used uncritically, as he was himself bringing it up to date during the publication; thus he had to add to his mintmarks so that his numbering (*which I use adding further*) looks very unsystematic, and if I had tried to regularize I could not guarantee renumbering in the text correctly. With his reworkings and additions appendices and text do not always agree, and his difficulties and labours are not to be minimized. Versions of the same mark can differ considerably in different catalogues; quite a few marks reported by Simonetta can be taken or even shown to be alternative readings, but others are quite different and need consideration. English publications seem to ignore European collections. Errors are so easy with over-concentration that we need collaboration with collaborators checking each other's proofs.

4 An agreed numbering of mintmarks is very desirable. On small differences I at first thought Lahiri was too particular, but experience showed that if he erred it was in the right direction. When Indo-Greek coinage was viewed as a degenerating series of growing incompetence small differences could be ascribed to that incompetence; but it seems safer to respect them, as in fact the portraits are respectable down to

Hermæus' own coinage. It is fashionable to denigrate Tarn's *Greeks and Bactrians in India*, but he had a wider and deeper understanding of Hellenistic kingdoms than any of his critics. His denial of locality to mintmarks may be extreme, for if marks are of families, families tend to settle and there will be a local component, but migrations or dismissals are always possible. MM is at the other extreme where all marks are only local; but why do single mints have several marks? If we call them workshops, we might as well say the city had several mints, and we find too many mints in the area — as in his history too many kings with complicated collegialities and kingships that remind one of 3rd-century Rome, all unexplained.

5 Besides La and MM I have used the (aged) Catalogue of the British Museum (BMC), Whitehead's Punjab Catalogue, Lahore (PMC), Calcutta Museum and Supplement (IMC) and Sotheby's Catalogue of the Haughton sale (Ha); also A Simonetta in East & West, ISMEO, who often reports mintmarks with coin type unspecified.

6 I confess my approach is unorthodox; it is annual (minimum) differentiation. Such differentiation can be traced in contemporary Athens; why not in other Hellenistic environment? The type changes either on one face or sometimes both, and usually in part rather than whole; or the mintmark changes, sometimes only in place. I owe the idea to Prof. Bivar of London, and hope he is not offended by his progeny. Die-linkages are beyond my competence, but identity of mintmark takes care of reverse die-linkages. To judge from the Qunduz hoard obverse die-linkage is much commoner; from Curiel/Fussmann TMQ pp 49ff there are of 593 tetradrachms 268 obverse die-linkages (in longer sequences) to 114 reverse. Of 17 drachmae all obverses are of one die, but there are 5 reverse dies. No reverses are die-linked whose obverses are not; this requires some numismatic explanation.

7 Our sequence for each king is based on the same denomination as far as possible. Silver must be the guide; copper not being hoarded and being worn more easily, often not clear on the mintmark when recognizable, does not survive to provide a sequence. Only with Maues and Apollodotus II does there seem to be an out-burst of copper and silver to be comparatively rare. We try to relate copper and silver

tentatively, and put them in the same or contiguous years when they have the same mark — in fact we offer the copper for completeness; for many reigns it is quite inadequate. There is no reason to suppose that the silver coined each year was the same in quantity or denomination. We prefer to work from the same denomination, and while different values of the same type can have consistently different mintmarks, it can always be that one value D or T was not minted or has not survived from one year, especially if mintmarks are of the same family. We try to group mintmarks by family likeness, but here ambiguity can arise. Our sequences are offered as making historical sense; wrong order as b d c a for actual a b c d (never demonstrable, as coins are not dated) will not affect the number of years of rule/issue. One extra year at each end is possible if decease occurred late in the year, or the news arrived too late, or accession might be very late also. We freely admit and expect that our sequence can be improved, and hope it will, but we hope to be on the right lines for the main outlines and succession, though very undogmatic for the years 100-085.



SUCCESS; TO THE DEATH OF STRABO I 101 B.C.

8 The Indo-Greek area, into which Bactria is introduced by the operations of Demetrius, belongs to both Indian and Hellenistic worlds, and the historian must look both east and west to fit his hypotheses. Seleucus I ceded Gandhara and Arachosia to Chandragupta Maurya, perhaps with the face-saving device of nominating him as his viceroy; the Indian kept the territory, therefore there is no need to look there for Hellenistic mints till the death of Aśoka in 237. Seleucus II may have recovered Arachosia and Kabul on his Eastern expedition in 228-7, but in the more Indian area, Gandhara, the Maurya empire held till at least the death of the Regent (*bandhu*) in 212, and probably till that to Śāliśūka in 199. But the Mauryas never ruled Bactria, where the Seleucid issues would suffice and circulate till those of Diodotus. Which Diodotus? Tarn gives all the coins to Diodotus II, depriving him of Seleucid lineage; but the head on type 71 is not young, while that on 73 and 75 is, and so must represent Diodotus II. Other issues with the older head, e.g. type 64, are ascribed to Diodotus (who should be I) though inscribed 'Of king Antiochus'. So which Antiochus? II has always been assumed, but this does not make sense. He died in 247 and Diodotus only married his daughter after his death as the gift of his son Seleucus II as the price of support, i.e. in 246 or very little later. Since Diodotus is thus Seleucus' satrap in 246, and the obligation is to Seleucus and not his father, why should coins be issued with Diodotus' head in that king's name, and none with his head in Seleucus'? We suggest therefore this Antiochus is Hierax, which might receive some

small support from Hierax' coin in the Qunduz hoard.

9 Since Bactria is part of the Seleucid world, it must be involved in its politics. A split arose in the royal family and Antiochus II's widow supported her youngest son Hierax against his elder brother Seleucus II; she may well have been able to influence her daughter, Diodotus' wife. The most suitable time for recognition would be after the battle of Ancyra in 235 when Seleucus lost Asia Minor. There are 6 issues of tetradrachms, which will take us to 229, when Hierax became a lost cause. Diodotus then had to drop the pretence 'of King Antiochus' and take the royal title himself. Evidently he died in 228, for when Seleucus came in 228/7 he found his son king. We therefore offer the following scheme as reasonable. (Capital letters in the mint-mark are in their Greek form. x of type or mark means unknown to the writer. Small letters like a, b, except i, are ours, not La's or MM's. - = no mintmark. MM does not take 444a or 447 as mint-marks, but for us this is immaterial, as they differentiate. Coins are AR unless otherwise stated and always in the 1st column

235	64.188	AT						
234	188a	AT						
233	182	AT	(64.G	AD)	AV	AE		
232	E	AT	440	AD				
231	N	AT	15	AD		76.x		AdX
230	100	ATD			63.N	S		
229	71.447	ATD	71.- (Q8)	AT	70.N	S	78.109b'	Ad
228	444a	ATD			.444aI	S	79.-	AdL

10 MM 72.102 should mean that Diodotus added Merv to his realm if that is the Merv mark. Since satraps should not coin in their own name, *Sōtēr* implies Diodotus was *basileus*, we should then date it 229-8; the city might have been recovered from a short Parthian occupation. A pedigree coin of 170 is conceivable, but there is no other issuer's name. There does not seem to be a clear division of copper

between the Diodoti ; type 76 is 'of King Antiochus', and so should be before 229.

11 Diodotus II succeeds and coins as king. How? If we have Diodotus' head when Antiochus is king, why Antiochus' when Diodotus is? We suggest: Diodotus was a Seleucid, son of Antiochus II's daughter; she made a compromise with her brother by which her son as a Seleucid retains the royal title, but puts (at least at first) his suzerain's head on his coins; thus MM's 74 ill.4 & 75 ill. 1 show an older head. A non-Seleucid would not have been allowed royalty, nor would the queen intervene for a stepson unless married to her daughter. Such a stepson would have been about 40, and the other portraits look too young. Diodotus II, born 245-4 would be old enough to rule under his mother's tutelage, which evidently, a spoiled boy, he did not appreciate. Tarn's reconstruction makes sense; in trying to free himself by opposing policies, a Parthian alliance, he overreached himself and was put out of the way, and his mother gave his sister, Antiochus' granddaughter to Euthydemus. The girl would be born about 240. For Diodotus II we offer;

227	74.-	ATD			AE 81.- AD
226			74.444a	A TD	82.- AdL
225	74.447	AD	444a	B AT	AV
224	45	AD			73a. 444a S
223			4a' I	AT	444a * S
222	25a 305a	AD	328	AT	73b. 444a S
221			S	AT	

In type 73a the wreath touches the eagle and the elbow is over b of *basileus*: in b the wreath is isolated and the elbow between the b and a.

12 Who is the youth on MM's type 66-7? An idealized Diodotus I? The 4th coin of his type 74 certainly looks like Diodotus I, possibly also the 1st but the 2nd & 3rd are very like type 66, but the 5th, die-linked to type 66 does look young and different. Our suggestion is that we have a portrait of a young king (in general), and that would

suit for Antiochus III whom the Bactrians would not have seen in the flesh.

13 The next problem is the coinage of Euthydemus I. There are not enough mintmarks for a reign of 32-3 years with at least latterly more than one mint. Certainly we have a minute fraction of his coins surviving (as of the Diodoti), and we should expect more mintmarks from Russian excavations. But we may suggest thus: Tarn makes Euthydemus come to the throne as a pro-Seleucid, pro-Greek loyalist. As Seleucus III and Diodotus II died about the same time, this means pro-Antiochus III. We therefore suggest that MM's types 66-9 'of King Antiochus' are Euthydemus' early issues. Assigning these coins to Diodotus II as associate satrap does not convince; satraps cannot appoint associate satraps; only (if such exist) kings can, and one would not expect a king to associate father and son when both are in full vigour. The die-link between MM's 66 ill. 2 & 73.5 will support our position: 66.2 was in the making at the time of or very soon after the coup. A loyalist should not coin in his own name, and Euthydemus did not do so before the visit of Antiochus in 210-09, as if he had he could not have said he was not a rebel; he could claim that his refusal to be superseded by a court sycophant was not the same as rebellion, and he had some claim in right of his wife. I doubt if he could coin during the 3-year siege by Antiochus, or would do so immediately after; the coinage would revert to the situation before 235. We therefore offer as by Euthydemus for Antiochus:

220	67.444a	ATD	AV	66.444a	S
219	N	AD		N	S AE ? (76.- AdX)
218	-	AT			
217	193a	AD			
216	188	AT			
215	188a 92d	AT			
214	324a 440a	AT			

213 440 AhD

212 100a AT

14 I doubt if Euthydemus was coining while Antiochus was in his vicinity. The peace settlement included a daughter of Antiochus III for Euthydemus' son Demetrius; either she died without issue (?in childbirth) or never came, otherwise Agathocles' pedigree coins would have come to the main line with Antiochus III, not II. This upshot is likely to have taken 3-4 years, and Demetrius is not likely to have married before 203-2 - in 209 he could not be more than 12 years old, so that his match might well not have been expected to be immediate. Nor did Antiochus immediately return West; he met a Mauryan prince he could not browbeat, but had to 'renew the old friendship'. This was probably Śāliśūka who would have consolidated his position by 209 and be at the height of his power in 206 - Subhagasena would be his or his father's throne name if we must have a patronymic, but he could have been a son of the Regent *bandhu* born c 250 rather than of Kuṇāla c 230 - or even of Aśoka himself if he changed his name from Having a fortunate army/weapon *subhaga-sena* on conversion to Buddhism, Increasing absence of pain, *aśoka-var dhana*; his inscriptions do not tell us his name. Antiochus still had eastern interests in 205-4 when he was at Gerrha, and his involvement with Egypt did not tie him up there till 202-0, from which years we can work out a scheme of annual coinage for Euthydemus. Demetrius' marriage and the independent coinage may well mark the end of respect for the Syrian connection. All the above and his age (born not before 220) make nonsense of the idea of Demetrius invading India before 200; the conquest of India is a young man's scheme, and I doubt if the aging Euthydemus would want the adventure in the 190s; nor do his portraits suggest the abdicating type.

15 We follow MM on die-alignment by which he distinguishes types 85 and 89; there are notable differences of club, seat, stance and portrait in his 4 illustrations of 89, but also in 85. Based on these and noticing La's sub-types, and using TMQ we can offer one scheme for the silver:

203	85	La2	.188a	Q11	Ha	286	AT
202			188		ills.	8 10	AT
201			188		"	7	AT

200		188	ills.	9		AT
199		188	Q10			AT
198	89	188	Q14			AT
197		188	ill	2		AT
196		188 N	"	4		AT
195		188 N	Q12-3			AT
194	94 La2a	162	Q15-6 ills.	1-2		AT
193		163	ROM 924.5.63			AT
192	La3	162	Q19-20 ills.	4-7		AT
191		162	Q18			AT
190		162	ill.3 old face			ATD
203	85 La2	-	ill.11 AT	85	La2.-Q9	AT
202		29U	ATD		55 La	AD
201		29u	AD		348a	AT
200		174	IMC2 AT		57 ill. 5	AT
199		310	AD		57 " 4	AT
198	89	x	ADhD 89		57 " 1-3	AT
197		271	ADhD		9a' TI	AT
196		271 A	ill.2 AD			
195		-	" 1 ATD	96	162	PT
194	94 La2a	291c DI	QLIV AT			
193						
192	La3		AOhO			

16 In this there are rather few issues at the end of the reign; we could say Euthydemus had to establish his own coinage in the beginning; the scheme might suggest satisfactory officials at the main mint, more search for honest contractors elsewhere. But if we ignore the variety

of dies with one mark we can offer e.g.:

203	85.-	AT					
202	348a	AT	85.55	La	AD		AV
201	191 (Sim)	AT	29U		ATD		
200	394	"	AT	29u	AD		
199	188a	AT	174	IMC2	AT	84.1	S
198	188	AT	310		AD		310 S
197 89	188	AT	89 271		ADhD		31 S
196	188 N	AT	271	A	AD		211 S
195	-	AT	57		AT	89i	188 4S
194 96	162	PT	9a'	TI	AT		
193 94	162 La2a	AT	94 291c	DI	La2a	AT	
192	163	AT					
191	162 La3 young	AT	94 -	La3	AOhO		
190	162	old	ATD				

Add as appropriate Sim x.434, x.324 and 89.x ADhD. For 84.310 see MM's ill. 2.

17 We have placed the gold by marks 310 and 188, but clearly there is latitude; one might expect staters to begin before the 4- stater. Coining gold was an unequivocal mark of independence; I would have put it later but we have no gold of Demetrius. I have only 6 marks for copper, clearly no help for date : we have 97.-Ad

147	AL (=hX)	87.-	Ad
193a	AL	-	AhL (=qX)
162	AdXL	This last should be rather late.	

18 We now come to Demetrius. MM denies Demetrius II, making him I as crown prince, relying on die-alignment; certain coins with

antiparallel alignment have been corrected to parallel, and were therefore issued some time before correction, i.e before type 89; therefore there was a long co-kingship with Euthydemus. The only coins mentioned are Q47-8, type 100, die-linked on both sides. At Qunduz there are no other antiparallel or corrected antiparallel coins of Demetrius, which should not have been uncommon on MM's hypothesis, but though he puts these 2 coins in a different type, he cites no others. It is much easier to suppose inspection and immediate correction at the mint than an unexplained operation several years later-Euthydemus' antiparallels show no sign of the same operation. Experience taught the Roman emperors to associate their sons at once, but this lay in the future in 200 BC, and Euthydemus does not look as one who would need a co-king — in fact Demetrius' policy of Indian conquest had to wait 6-8 years after his accession. The elephant scalp proclaims an intention to conquer and be Alexander, which we may well doubt that Euthydemus would have appreciated from his son. One might say such proclamation should not take the type down to 168, though older-looking heads could be found from type 101, though they hardly resemble him of the elephant scalp. It seems much easier to follow Tarn and accept 2 Demetrii; in Greek nomenclature the father's name is more likely for a 2nd son before going on to new names (like Pantaleon). Some portraits of type 101 as Q35-6 & 73 look very young, but Demetrius II, born 201-198 may have remained long 'baby-faced'. It does not seem that Antiochus gave Euthydemus the royal title in 206, and it is not likely that Euthydemus broke the compromise in 205 when his suzerain was hardly out of the way, and Tarn has shown that the conquest of Kabul and Arachosia was by Demetrius after his father's death, after the battle of Magnesia in 189 when it became safe, not before. I read Euthydemus as having a practical Greek *sōphrosunē* content with the security of his fortune that had taken him so far from Magnesia.

19 Demetrius probably asserted himself very soon after his accession, with the conquest of Kabul and Arachosia by the end of 188. Coin propaganda was Greek — the Attic standard was for Greeks and the West, not India — so that the elephant scalp need not have alarmed his uninitiated Indian neighbours, while it might attract Greek soldiers

of fortune. The Maurya empire had had 2 short reigns (one a child) since Śāliśūka, and Bṛhadratha had enough domestic problems to worry him. His assassination in 185/4 gave Demetrius his chance.

20 Demetrius reigned 21-2 years: MM reports 23 T + 5 D outside type 101 (which mostly comes from the Qunduz hoard, and with Tarn we give to Demetrius II). This is certainly very little for a successful reign of that length. We suggest firstly a peculiar vendetta against his coinage by Eucratides I, who would have all he could melted down — there seem to be no overstrikes. Secondly Demetrius was in India and out of the coinage area except for a brief return after Euthydemus II's death: currency in India would seem to have been still of the punch-marked variety, so that Demetrius' silver would be melted down to that form. A parallel-case is that of Strato I after his defeat by Heliocles; he is out of the Greek coinage area till his return in 129. We may support our scheme by the absence of *anikētos* on type 103; conquests from Greeks justify the title *Soter*, but *anikētos* from 'liberating' Kabul and Arachosia would have been arrogant and ridiculous.

We offer:

189	103.162	La2c	Q32-3	ATO	
188	.163		La & pl.	AO	
187	.162	La2b	ill.6 B & R obv	AT	
186	.162		Q28 B&R obv & rev	AT	
185	.162	La2a	trunk open	ATDO 103.188	ATO
184	.162		" closed	ATDO .290	AT
183	.163		Q29	AT	.291 AO
182					.113 ATO
181	.D			AD	.56 AD
180	111.86d T	AE 112.86d	d	AR	103.9 92 AD
179	110.87	D			
173	103.102	La2	Q26-7 La closed trunk		ATO
172	.102		ill.3 open trunk small head	AT	

La2b could be put later, even on the return to Bactria, on the ground of the B&R border which otherwise occurs only on 72.102, but Tarn's suggested temporal boundary between pearl and B & R seems too rigid. MM assigns 72.102 to Diodotus, but 102 is not among his mintmarks, and La is much more convincing in assigning it to the pedigree coinage; Diodotus himself is too early for B&R. For mark 102 I suggest the return of Demetrius to Bactria necessitated by the death of Euthydemus II in 174.

21 Copper is very disjointed and no real scheme can be made. Only .126 & 289 are shared by different values (once), but this can hardly represent the historic facts. What I can find is:

AE	109.162	Ad	108.384?	Atr	106.9c	AH	112.86d	d
	288	Ad	.126	Atr	.289	AKH		
	212	Ad	.102	Atr				
	188	Ad						
	113	Ad						

126 Ad. La has Sim. also reporting x.165, 359, 370, 380, 394, 427, but does not say on what types, AR or AE, nor can I say whether some are interpretations of marks already given. 113, 162, 188 and 86d are shared with silver, and might be put in their and those of the same family in proximate years.

22 The date 182 for Demetrius' invasion of India is well argued by Tarn and well supported by the Purāṇa. Part of the reason for rejecting Tarn's conception of a real invasion goes back to Whitehead's belief that Greeks could not take a Punjab summer; but summer did not prevent a real conquest by subsequent invaders from Central Asia. The Purāṇa plainly says that the Greeks held Mathura for 82 years, and the political situation with Puṣyamitra's usurpation and some anti-Buddhist measures make the year 182 very suitable. From that year Demetrius needs sub-kings; his own sons were barely old enough, as his marriage is not before 203, and his eldest son would not be born before 202-00, though very little later is possible. He therefore turns

to his brothers Apollodotus and Antimachus, whose coinage should begin in 182. Apollodotus operated in India, so his coinage with one exception is on the Indian standard - Demetrius too found an Indian standard necessary after a year - but Antimachus remains in the Bactrian area with Attic standard. We take him first.

23 MM identifies Antimachus I & II because of the shared mintmark 127b. It is the only thing shared, being used once by Antimachus I on 124.127b AT, and once on silver 135.127b D, once on copper 136.127b by A.II. Everything else, types, title, mintmarks, standard differs. Nor has MM any place for the personality of Antimachus; he reports 28 of Antimachus I's tetradrachms as against 22 of Demetrius; these with their variety of mintmarks are too many for a brief 2-3 years as an independent king after him. We therefore offer :

182	124.127b		AT		
181	.163	ill.5	AO	124.187 La	AT
180	.162	Q90, 92	ATDO		
179	.165	Q91	AT		
178	.175a	Q97 ill.7	AT		
177	.337R	ill.6	AT		
176	.337u	ill.5	AT		
175	.442		AT		
174	.56		AhDO		
173	.273	La	AT		
172	.210		AT	124.111 La	AD
171	.284b	Q98 B&R	AT		
170	.100	Q93-4	ATDO	128.211	AT
169	.100	Q95-6	AT	129.211	AT

We may add somewhere 124.444 Ha306 AO. Copper again gives no scheme; we have Ad 130.162, 131.- and AdX 132.-.

24 Q95-6 have no ribbons on the palm. 124.111 can be put in

170 if Q93-6 should be taken as one. 124.444 is floating as also the copper 131-2. We put 128-9 in the last years, following Tarn who takes Antimachus as among the first victims of Eucratides; the alarm is raised in 170. Tarn takes Poseidon on the copper as indicating a naval victory on the Oxus; could it be propitiating Poseidon the earthshaker after an earthquake? Antimachus' title *Theos* needs explanation; he could be satirizing Antiochus IV who was a manifest god, *Epiphanēs Theos*, but he was not king till 175. We suggest that though Antimachus was a loyal brother, he did not take his elder too seriously — see his portrait — and while he supports his brother's adventure on his Bactrian coins with the elephant, this brother is now an Indian king, *deva*; why should they not both be *deva/theos*?

25 We may now offer for Apollodotus I :

182	x.127b	AT (?) 203.- tusks out	AhD
181	207.286/-	hD "- tusks down	AhD
180	.286/296	D	
179	.162/C	D 207.162/x	hD
178	.162/W	D	
177	.162/D	D	
176	.162/123	D	
175	.211/A	D	
174	.397/A	ill.10 D	
173	.397/113	D	
172	.116/113	D	
171	.321/-ROM	D	
170	.18/18	D	
169	.69/-	D	
168	.17a/-	DhD	
167	.17a/377	D	206.symbols/ 301 D

AE

182	205.-			
181	209. - ill. 1 M-ft	hoqo	21oi.303	eo
180	. -" 3 m-ft	ho	209.303	qo
179	.163	ho	.303f	ho
178	.167	ho	.303e	ho
177	.165	ho	.47	qo
176	.158	ho	.46aL ill.3	qo
175	.160	ho	.46aR " 4	qo
174	.159	ho	.35	hoqo
173	.397/113	ho	.33	ho
172	.116/113	ho	.41a BMC29	ho
171	.18/-	ho	.156a	ho
170	.18/18	ho	.21	qo
169	.108/67	ho	.N	qo
168	.285/-	ho	.445	ho
167	.285/148	ho	.446	ho

Dobbins in Numismatic Digest (Bombay) Vol II Pt 2 1978 p4 mentions a tetradrachm of Apollodotus I with portrait from Ai Khanum mark 127b. Both ribbons of the diadem are wavy much like those of Antimachus I, who also has (124). 127b. We place these at the beginning of their coinage on appointment as sub-kings when the Indian expedition was just getting started. 127b next occurs on Eucratides I as *megas*, which could be brought down to 156-5, followed by Antimachus II in 154, and the moneyer takes service with Zoilus in 153-2. Apollodotus' and Antimachus' usage must be separated from Eucratides' by some years, since they must be killed in 167-6 and 168 respectively, and Eucratides is not *megas* till 164. The coiner may have decided to make his peace with the victor c 160 but was glad to return to his old allegiance on his death in 154. Dobbin makes Antimachus the killer on numismatic grounds: but while we are glad of his support, the name surely makes

him no son of Eucratides - *nikēphoros* for killing his father is an inconceivable title with Greeks.

26 Beyond the Ai Khanum coin Apollodotus I and Antimachus II share an absence of portrait and tetradrachm. The former may do so in deference to his brother, clearly having a different character from Antimachus I. His epithet is *Sōtēr* from the beginning; whom is he saving? It could be Greeks from Indian rule if Alexander's foundations still had any; but I would not be surprised if it was not the Greek but the Prakrit that is being translated — protecting, *tratarasa*, has a slightly different meaning from saving — and he is protecting (under Demetrius) the Buddhist community, influential from its mercantile status and probably already having Bactrian connections through trade, from their troubles with Puṣyamitra. Following Tarn I take Apollodotus as subordinate to Demetrius. Copper is the everyday coinage of the poor; money was not plentiful in India though there had been a money economy since 600. Apollodotus was especially concerned with consolidation in India: his first issue is Attic weight but all after are Indian. I suggest that he rather than Demetrius was the Euthydemid commander in the great final battle on the Sutlej of the Yuga Purāṇa. Tarn's reconstruction also explains the wide circulation of his coinage, and MM's distribution of the mints does not well agree with its distribution.

27 We now come to the sons of Demetrius. Euthydemus II must be the oldest. His birth limits are 202-0, and if we think of the Athenian *ephebos*' training of 2 years, 18-20 at this time, he should be promotable in 181-0. One could imagine a simultaneous promotion of the 2nd son, Demetrius II, so as not to cause jealousy of one just 1+ year older. His extremes are 201-198; he looks very young on some of his coins. Agathocles and Pantaleon would be just into their teens. Euthydemus II seems to have few years, and we assume he predeceased his father, necessitating the elevation of Agathocles followed by Pantaleon. Euthydemus and these last seem well supplied with copper (later cupro-nickel), which is perhaps more suitable for sub-kings, but we do not seem to have any for Demetrius II unless he issued type 109. We offer the schemes:

Success; to the death of Strabo I 101 B.C.

31

Euthydemus II

180	113.142	AD	AE	121.101	ill.1 d 2 tr	Adtr
179	.171	AO		.102	" 3	Atr
178	.102	Q21-3	ATDhDO	121.104	" 2	Ad
177	.97	AT		118.104	" 2 (102?)	Ad
176	.8	AO		.104a		AtrX
175	.162	ATDO		.97a		Ad
174	.113	AT		.162		Ad

For Demetrius II

180	101.-	Q34		AT 170-73 La 1a B&R .		
179	.?122	(MMj.x)		AT		
178	.6	Q36a		AT		
177	.330a	Q42-8		AT		
176	.52	Q56		AT		
175	.8	Q35, 37		AT		
174	.9	Q39-40, 49-55, 57-8		AT		
173	.9 G	Q60-2		AT		
172	.9 G	Q63-72		AT	172-68 La 1 pearls	
171	.9 D	Q73-4, 79-80, 83		AT		
170	.331 D	Q81		AT	101.9d	AD
169	.8 D	Q82		AT	.8	AD
168	.108 D	ill.4		x.		

This order obeys the die-links of Q (TMQ). 72.102 should come in 170, whichever Demetrius issued it.

28 Euthydemus' death from whatever cause—disease is very likely—necessitated a replacement; we therefore begin Agathocles in 173. He would be born c 195, and Pantaleon perhaps 192. We suggest the brahmi

coinage of these kings represents an attempt to conciliate the Indian Hindu element: Demetrius had Buddhist sympathy in his original invasion, but the situation was now desperate. We offer for Agathocles:

173	137.93	ill.2	AD	AE 147.292	Ad
172	.163b		AhD	.293	Ad
171	.104	ill.sl	ATD	.113	AdX
170	.102	ATD		.102	Ad
169	144.102, .89, 141.162, 142.162		AT	151.- CLXr CXXr	
168	145.102, 143.89, 146.408		AT	.384a CXXr	

For Pantaleon:

171	157.102	ATD	AE	160.102	Ad
170				.280	Ad
169	-	AO	AE 161.- CXXr	.97 La	Ad
168				A	AD

29 We now come to Eucratides, and here must confess to a certain impatience with Tarn's critics. He takes an international view of Bactria, they imagine it in a vaccum. Tarn using his vast knowledge and understanding of Hellenistic kingdoms makes sense of the status of Laodice and the policies of Antiochus Epiphanes; his critics have nothing to offer. In making Eucratides a young local rebel MM's history makes no sense. How is a princess married to a local subordinate of a satrap? The descent is propaganda — as if that would convince anyone in a limited community ! If she eloped, she would lose royal status; eloping was not common in Greek classical high society — Helen's example was not encouraging. How is the son of a princess with a right to royalty such a sub-ordinate? Young he may be so, but how does a young man raise a revolt in the presence of two or three sub-kings against a successful conqueror rivalling Alexander? And how do the Euthydemis need a pedigree coinage against an exile usurper too young to be well-known? For MM fuses Eucratides I & II and begins him very young as can be seen from the portraits; this only makes the rebellion more

incomprehensible. The Euthydemids need a big pedigree coinage against a clear and powerful claimant with a good case— Antiochus Epiphanes; Eucratides with his commission (which would not be given to a 20-year old) did not need such. A local rebel would not need an elaborate answer, and one might doubt his having the resources to extend his operations to the Sutlej where the final great battle, which would mark the death in battle of the last Euthydemid king (Apollodotus I +/- Agathocles), *Satadrum ā mahāyuddham*, took place. This however did not annihilate the faction, which had a base in Mathura, Greek-held for 82 years. MM ignores the Indian evidence; the civil war was not a small local affair, but Kharavela of Orissa took advantage of it. Menander assumes the leadership, but not necessarily the kingship, which must wait for some success against Eucratides. Agathocles and Pantaleon cannot fill the gap being for the next few years without mints from which to coin on Attic standard. Eucratides must have been completely successful by the end of 167.

30 MM's chronology further quite upsets the Old Saka era; on it if founded by Menander, Maues is far too late, if by Eucratides, uncomfortably early (as would be Zeionises). But in fact Eucratides could not found an era on Tarn's reconstruction: even otherwise emphasis on Seleucid descent should indicate use of the Seleucid era, which there is no evidence that the Euthydemids did not use. Menander could reasonably found an era, having no pedigree and owing his position primarily to his army and only secondarily to his wife Agathocleia. It seems to me better historical method to try to improve a reconstruction that makes sense and explains things than to reject it as imaginative in favour of uncoordinated hypotheses which do neither.

31 Tarn puts Eucratides' pedigree coins as his first issue, as has usually been done. My difficulty with this is that on them he is *Megas*, Great King, which would still surely have connotations of Darius and his successors, and he could hardly use while lieutenant for Epiphanes owing to the connotation, while type 168 (La 2-4) is 'of King Eucratides'. Titles like *megas* should not be dropped, and in other kings are taken as announcing greater pretension. But Antiochus IV, his friend and cousin, died in 164 succeeded by a minor who was soon to be set aside by

his uncle Demetrius I, to whom Eucratides would be under no obligation to accept as regent for the boy, which he was not, and therefore declared independence - he may well have known his cousin Demetrius personally, without respect. But he was himself in power in Bactria as representative of the true male Seleucid line; only a true male Seleucid had the right to kingship. Eucratides had destroyed the Euthydemids on just that basis, and now he was rejecting the rightful heir himself. It is in this context that he produced the pedigree coinage, which gets him back to the royal line very quickly - he was a grandson of Seleucus II with a senior if similar claim to that of the Euthydemids. Pedigree coinage suggests that the Greeks in Bactria were not eager to break away from the central government; true, the Greek tradition had been the city state, but in Bactria the Greeks were too isolated; they needed solidarity, and many of the colonists, Greeks and Hellenized Anatolians, had been used to the Persian Empire. The Seleucid king was too far away to be effectually oppressive, but could be useful. So Diodotus' secession had begun as part of a family quarrel in which he chose the wrong side and found himself out on a limb, as the phrase is. Euthydemus I moved from a loyalist position, and had probably been alienated by Antiochus III and had waited to revolt. The success of Eucratides on behalf of Antiochus IV shows the depth of Greek feeling; only with the collapse of Seleucid unity and empire on the death of Epiphanes and the rise of Mithradates I of Parthia the Eastern Greeks had to become independent.

32 One can produce a scheme confining Eucratides' coinage to the years 167-58 when Old Saka begins from, we suggest, Menander. But Menander's mintmarks seem to increase from 154, and there are also sub-kings Antimachus II and Zoilus I ; we therefore suggest Eucratides' death in 154, which 168-54 with the 12 years of Eucratides II 129-17 gives the 26 years of Eucratides that Prof. Bivar wants. We begin with a scheme for coins without *megas*:

168	170.162	(.165 La)	AT		
167	168b.162	Q111	AT ill.4	AD	
166	168a.162	Q109-10, 112?	AT " 7	AD 168.2 La	AT

Success; to the death of Strabo I 101 B.C.

35

165	168.162	Q108,113-4	AT	5-6&8	AD	.3 La	AT
167	168b.56	D	AT	168b.203	A ill.10	pearl	AD
166	168a.442a	D Q116	AT	168a.A	Q117		AT
165	168.442a	D Q115	AT	168.203	L	B&R	AD
164	.50	D	AT				
163	.50	Q118	AT				
167	168b.102	Q102, 107	AT	168b .39	A ill. 1	pearl	AD
166	168a.102	Q103	AT	" .39	A "	2 B&R	AD
165	168.102	Q105	AT	" .39	L Ha316	pearl	AD
164	.104	Q104	AT				

On the Dioscuri type the lances are normally visible behind the riders, 168, sometimes in front only, 168b, sometimes they have no lances, 168a. As Antiochus died in 164, the short title could have lasted in the odd case into 163, though .50 could represent another mint and go up 1 year, 165-4

33 Subsequent coins bear the title *meas*. We offer the scheme:

164	177.162R	ATD				
163	.163L	AT	177.104 B&R	AT	177.50L	ATO
162	.165R	AT	.104 pearl	AT	.50R	AT
161	.127bL	AT		AT	.50b pearl	AD
160	.127bR	ATD	.105 La	AT.52	ill.6	ATD
159	.131a	AT.98	IMC12pl.2	AT	.56b	AT
158	.127 c	AT	.97b	AT	.118	AT
157			.97	AT	.50a	AT
156	188.44	D	179.97	AT	184.50a	AT
155	.26b ill/2	D	.104	AT	182.50a	AT
154			182.104	AT		

163	177.76	AT	177.26a		AT	177.280a	AT
162	.203	AT	.24	La	AT	.280b	AT
161	.66	AT	.174	"	AT	.213a	AT
160	.63	AT	.372	"	AT	.N	AD
159	.62R	AT	.357	"	AT	.X	AT
158	.62L	AT	.335	"	AT	.207/278 La	AT
157							
156			184.9	Q165-70	AT		
155			182.8	Q163-4, 171-8	ATD		
168			166.-		AO		
167			180.162		AO		
166			.163		AO		
165			.283		AO		
164			.50		AO	180.15 Ha322	AO
163	177.15a	AT	.58	AO	AV176.- (.50 La)		S
162	.14	AT	.52	AO	.76		PS
161	.324a	AT	.127b	AO	.102		S
160	.60	AT	.128	AO			
159	.59	ATD	.59R	AO			
158	.59a	AT	.59L	AO			
157	.318 La	AT	181.50	AO	AR	181.177 La	AO
156	.303a	AT	.50a	AO	.99	"	AO
155	.306a	AT	.303	AO	.241	"	AO
154	.281			AO			

34 There seems to be an outburst of coinage after 164. We suggest Eucratides would call in all the Euthydemid coins he could find - there seem to be no overstrikes - and even his own earlier coinage and general Seleucid issues for reminting on his declaration of independence. Indian standard appears only on one issue, type 188, (significantly in view of

Apollodotus I's coinage in D, not T), which may suggest that in view of dangerous opposition and revival of the Euthydemid cause conciliation of the Indian element became wise or necessary — Eucratides would not have considered it originally. If La4 is genuine, then his gold is minted after independence, which is reasonable. Could the single Dioscuros of type 187 represent Eucratides deprived of Antiochus? If so, it should come in 164-3.

35 MM's illustrations of type 168 are of a mature man (least so ill. 7); some of TMQ are very young, notably Q108, 117; one might ask is Eucratides II here using his grandfather's type for prestige? This raises the question of post-mortem issues, which are not to be denied, at least by myself; but one may legitimately ask who issued them under what auspices and circumstances? The immediate sequel to Eucratides was Menander and Antimachus II with a war of revenge; so Eucratides' issues should not be minted again in their reigns, or indeed till the return of Heliocles in 145, when they would be propaganda coins, but I do not find Heliocles sharing the marks of type(s) 168 and only 59a & 76 with 177; Eucratides II does use .2 of 168 & .14 & 52 of type 177. For Eucratides copper we try undogmatically :

167	171.-	(better Eucratides II?)		
166	172.206	X		
165				
164	190.77	E ill.99 3-4	te190.226	d
163	.76	E	tedX.228	ted
162	.75	E ill.19	te.229	te
161	.280		te.238	te
160	.250		ted.260 344	te
159	.172		te.240 La	te
158	.59		te.270	te
157	.59b		te.269	te
156	.169		te.239 La	te

155	.173 La	te	.243 La	te
154	.87	te	189.134	te
164	185.126a'	2 te	187.x	
163	190.132	te	190.-	
162	.129	te	195.-	
161	.127bL	te	186.21	t
160	.127bR	te	.218	t
159	.131	te	193.218 d.88	t
158	.51	te	.270? d.16 ill.4	t
157	.12	ted	194.135 ill.s1-2 d.46	t
156	.14	te	.38 d.38	t
155	.15	te	.37	d

These 6 t are clearly moveable, sharing only .38. I have given marks from La which he gives with authority I am not prepared to question and which seem to be too different to be reinterpreted versions of marks already given. La quotes Sim. with x.101, 330, 338, 375-6, 400-1, 428. Our 190.87 is MM's 190c, but our interpretations differ.

36 Eucratides I has more mintmarks than any other king, but that does not mean to me that he was minting in every other town. Clearly a long reign could be manufactured for him. Tarn had him killed in 59-8, and recently his death has been put after 146 owing to an inscription showing the Seleucid had a satrap in Ecbatana, Media in 147 and may even have coined there in 146. Justin says Eucratides' death and Mithradates' conquest of Media took place 'about the same time'. On this line a very suitable date would be 142-1 when Mithradates I defeated a coalition of Seleucid and Bactrian Greeks, and this would give the 26 years Bivar wants. It would also add sense to one version of Justin, that Eucratides was killed by the Parthians, but not to the other, that his own son murdered him on his way back from India. If Heliocles was the parricide, how all the post-mortem good coins? On the Greek side, it seems to me that there is not room for all the

alleged contemporary kings, some big, around Kapiśā, Eucratides, Menander, Zōilus, Heliocles, Antimachus, Epander, Polyxenus. Nor do I believe that an energetic monarch like Mithradates I having ascended the throne c 170 did nothing till 145-1, though he might wait preparing till 164-3. He might well have taken Media (or part) before 147 and lost it again. Hence I prefer Tarn's reconstruction with emendations as basically right. Thus : in spite of his victories Eucratides had not been able to consolidate much east of the Indus; Menander had been able to regroup and prepare recovery, at least latterly from his capital at Sialkot. Eucratides was on his way back from India to collect new troops or face a Parthian invasion — the coins evidently suggest a brief Parthian occupation of Bactria — which could have been orchestrated in collaboration with the Euthydemids, when he fell between the Parthians and a son not of his own but of Antimachus I (or Apollodotus) who had been made *socius regni* of/by Menander, not Eucratides. This son was Antimachus II, and his title *Nikēphoros* refers to his success against Eucratides. Titles should at least on first appearance have some real foundation, and not be taken as playthings by kings or scholars. Apparently Antimachus II got installed at Puṣkalāvati and Menander could coin in Kapiśā, and, we suggest in 152, in Bactria. It is however notable that there are no Euthydemid coins found in the Qunduz hoard after 168 except for a few of Lysias, who betrayed his family (see below). Apollodotus I, Antimachus II, Menander and Strato I are all absent, though the absence of the first two could be held to their not coining T.

37 It may be easier to take Antimachus II first. Why has he no tetradrachms and no portrait? There seems to be no T on the Indian standard before Menander's in 154; as we take that for the date of Eucratides' death, his may have been meant for the use of those who had used the previous kings', basically traders into Kapiśā/Bactria and Gandhāra. The lesser Indian standard might have been a quiet technique of debasing the coinage after the costs of war. While as king he must coin T as Eucratides did, I find only 2 AT, 151-0, I suspect on the occupation of Bactria. But Menander may also keep the Indian standard because his capital was at Sialkot, not in Gandhāra or Bactria. Even so the great majority of his coins seem to be drachmae, as were

Apollodotus' in India where they must have suited the economy.

38 Returning to Antimachus' lack of a portrait, there may be Indian tradition in this, as the punch-marked coins did not have that, but we may also attribute it to *pietas* if Antimachus was a son of Apollodotus rather than to his status as a sub-king, since Demetrius' sons and Zōilus I all had portraits. We offer the scheme for one mint or for two; I cannot avoid Antimachus sharing marks 42, 44, 75-6 with Menander, which would support his status as a sub-king. His close relation to Menander may also be reflected in the Indian standard of *ratti* on the copper, which is not used again in our area. We offer:

154			135.199La	D	AE		
153	135.44	D	.75	D	136.44	Cr	
152	.42	D	.77	D	.42	Cr	136.204 Cr
151	.306	D	.76	D	.76	Cr	
150			.127b	D	.127b	Cr	

Sim. adds x.305. 361. We can also give 7-8 years to Antimachus parallel with Zōilus I, both being eliminated by Heliocles. Thus:

153	135.44	D	AE		136.44	Cr
152	.42	D			.42	Cr
151	.127b	D			.127b	Cr
150	.306	D				
149	.199	La	D			
148	.75	D			.204	Cr
147	.76	D			.76	Cr
146	.77	D				

As in this case Zōilus takes over .75-6, he rather than Heliocles might be responsible for Antimachus' death. We prefer something like our first version; Antimachus II would have been born on the suggested parentage c 190, and would not be too young to die naturally in 150.

39 We now take Zōilus I, for whom we give the scheme :

153	257.127b	D	name curved	
152	.127b	D	" straight	AE
151	.120	D		258.120 te
150	256.120	TD		.194 te
149	.188	D		.?A te (ill.4)
148	.193	D		x te
147	.196	D		
146	.76	D		
145	.75	D		
144	.44	D		

Clearly AE is again fluid. Zōilus is called *Dikaïos*, which should mean that he claimed to be with some reason a 'rightful' legitimate king. In view of the names Zōilus & Apollodotus II we suggest he is a son of Apollodotus I, born 190-85; his coin types and 113 are alike, and their copper share Heracles' head. If Zōilus was merely appointed by Menander, how *Dikaïos*? His tetradrachm shows a face not unlike Demetrius'. We suggest the return of Heliocles caused his disappearance, and that Menander died in camp, *en stratopedōi*, in 148 opposing Heliocles, who returns encouraged by the transition from the regent Agathocleia to Strato, who would come of age in Iranian terms in 143.

40 The upcoming variety of names calls for comment. We know no maternal filiations, so kindred is hard to find; it may be that in the accentuating minority of Greeks families not previously on social terms intermarried. But Heroic/Homeric names return in the Hellenistic age, and one suspects names became more arbitrary as they have become in the modern West, where with the decline of family feeling hereditary names, have become less common.

41 We now come to Menander and must consider his position. Tarn again makes better sense. Menander is Demetrius' general; he

had married Agathocleia, when is hard to say; it must have been before 158, but could be as early as 170 with Demetrius' blessing, but we need Strato I to be a minor in 148; he could be born in 161-0 and Agathocleia might have turned to Menander on the death of her brother Apollodotus in 164. With Eucratides' invasion there was no near royalty for a useful alliance other than the Parthian, and Mithradates and carefully kept quiet in the time of Antiochus IV. Strato's title could be as first son born after his father became king, but we do not prefer this explanation. We are left with Menander as the successful general and the (rightful) king's son-in-law, while Antimachus II & Zōilus were only (younger?) sons of sub-kings, Demetrius' younger brothers. They might well have been content to serve with the royal title. Menander's personality, whatever it was, has also to be considered; a sympathy with the Indian is to be inferred from the Buddhist tradition, and this would tend to place him as pro-Euthydemid rather than pro-Seleucid.

42 Again MM's history, however formidable its numismatic apparatus, makes no sense. Menander's capital was at Sialkot, but MM has no mint for it; the mints are all in the NWFP and Taxila with one in Jammu. As in the case of Apollodotus I this is hardly enough to account for the wide spread of his coinage. Nor does Menander as Eucratides' deputy make sense of Indian tradition; it ignores it. Tarn's reconstruction does make sense, and makes sense also of his title *Sōtēr*, which MM does not. It also makes more sense of his death in camp, i.e. on a military expedition; against whom, if Eucratides/Heliocles were ruling from Merv to the Jhelum? We suggest that 10 years after the Suttlej battle Menander had enough military strength to take the royal title in 158 (beginning the 'Old Saka' era), and his son Strato was born in the camp *stratopedon*, hence his name. Evidently Demetrius' daughter accompanied her husband on campaign, both inheriting some of her father's character and a reminder of Euthydemid legitimacy.

43 Bivar considers 10 years as enough for Menander's coinage with posthumous issues, and we follow him as closely as possible, but reject the letters A, B & E as year-marks, since that upsets other sequences in the coins — S is no year and .204 E (which would be year 5) is type 214, the latest of Menander's types to Bivar. We begin Menander's

coinage in 158, but do not take him across the Hindu Kush till 154-3, and at the other end his coinage continues to be minted, but not with the previous annual change of types till the majority of Strato I in 144-3 - presumably Menander's was a name to conjure with, and lent prestige to his widow's regency and his son's minority. MM rejects La's type 9 as a forgery, but does not mention his 9a, ref. Seaby CMB 1952. This has the advantage of not making Menander coin tetradrachms till 153, on the elimination of Eucratides. The Mir Zakeh coin quoted by MM as type 222 is 223 on TMA plate VIII.7; but if the coin exists as 222, we have 2 issues for 155. We might note that all Menander's coins are on Indian standard except type 212, and that like Apollodotus I he is well supplied with copper.

44 We may note that Indo-Greek kings even when they would need native support (as Demetrius and especially Menander did from Buddhists), do not put Buddha, Bodhisattvas or stūpas on their coins; their gods are Indian when not Greek, and Kaniṣka shows the first Buddha. The suggestion is therefore that the wide conversion to Buddhism was much later than is usually thought, just as the Moslem conversions of Kashmir and Bengal were 200-400 years after the conquest. This view receives support from the study of the halo in India and China, and also I think from the apparent explosion of Buddhist art in Gandhara, emphasized today as Romano- rather than Greco-Buddhist.

45 We offer the scheme for Menander, to which Sim, adds x.307, 358, 368, 388, 391, 393:

158	213.73	D	213.77	D	213.42	D
157	220.75	D			220.42	D
156	221.75				221.42	D
155	223.75	D	?222.75	D		
154	224.75	D	224.76	D	224.42	D
153	225.75	TD	225.76	D	225.42	D
152	226.75	D	226.76	D	226.42	D
151	217.75	D	217.76R	TD	212.42	AT

44

Kings and Coins in India

150			217.76L	T			
149	217.77	D			217.139R		D
148	214.77	D	214.76 PMC402	D	214.139R		D
147	.75	D	.54aL	T	.139L		D
146	.78b'	D	.64	D	.144 54a		D
145	.82	D	.68 La	D	.144 204		D
144	.365	D	.425 ill.32	D	.144		D

158			213.127b	D			
157	220.55	D	220.127b	D	220.-	D	220.306 D
156	221.44	D	221.127b	D	219.62	T	
155					.127b	T	223.306 D
154	224.44	D	224.425	D	.S 204	D	224.78 D
153	225.44	D	225.425	D	225.S	204	D
152	226.44	D	226.x	D	216.204	D	
151	212.216	AT	217.97 La	D	217.204	TD	
150	217.216	D	.176 "	D	.S 204	TD	
149	.162R	TD	217.120	D	.S 54a	T.	
148	.165R	TD	214.120L	D	214.S	204	TD
147	.165L	T	.120R	D	.204	GD	
146	214.208	D	.127b	TD	.204	ED	
145	.374a	D			.204	RD	
144					.204aL	D	

153	225.215				AV		
152			226.83 La	D	211.381 small owl		S
151	217.214a		217.114	D	.381 big owl		S

Success; to the death of Strabo I 101 B.C.

45

150	.215L		217.195	D
149	.214 204	T	-	D
148	214.215 204	T	214.366	LaD
147	.215L	T	.412	LaD
146	.216R	T		
145	.216L	T		
144	.209	T		

The gold should be minted after the death of Eucratides, but there is no sign what year. The gold we give with MM to Menander. We now take the copper.

AE

158			251.146	d	240.44	
157	247.146	te	x	d	.397 236	eo
156	244.146	te			.381	eo
155	.44	te	250.75	d	.A 146	eo
154	.127b	te	232.75	Ho	.A 127b	eo
153	.54a	te	231.75	2o	.A 392 ill.8	eo
152	.75	te	234.0 68	o	.66 A IMC9	eo
151	248.75	te	233.A/ma 75	o	.77A ill.5	eo
150	249.75	te	.A/ma 76	o	.75 A ill. 3	eo
149	246.75	te	.162	o	.75 381 ill.1	eo
148	.306	te	.165	o	- 381/sam	eo
147	.202	te	x	o	.o 106	eo
146	.44	te			.204	eo
145	246d1.42	te			.raba	eo
144	246d3.42	te				

155	241.146	heo	235.146	ho
154	238.127B	qo	.127b	ho
153	.75 B	qo	.73	ho
152	.12 ill.5	qo	.12	ho

147			235.202	ho
146	239.44a	qo	236.44a Ha431	ho
145	.42	qo	.D 75	ho

d, ho & qo are obviously moveable; te & eo are also not dogmatically fixed and I doubt if only one mint produced them. Sim. adds x.307, 358, 388, 391, 393, but I am not sure if any of these are more than readings of the not decisively clear.

46 We now come to Agathocleia. The first question is who was she? To take her as Strato's wife because the female is behind the male on the joint coin, and these issues are not the first of Strato because *dhramika* has already been inserted into the Kharoṣṭhī legend (except on type 305, which gives her name also) seems to solve difficulties by generating more. Strato as Heliocles' son makes no sense — and does not interpret his name, as done above. If he is Heliocles' son, why does his father overstrike? The position is hardly better as son-in-law. Nor does Strato show any resemblance to Heliocles' or Eucratides' well-marked features — what resemblance there is (for what it is worth) is to Menander. Eucratides put his parents on the propaganda coin with the female on whom his claim rested behind, so Strato/Agathocleia joint coins should be issued by Strato II, which is not suggested. No other wife coins alone in India except Machene, who too puts the male name (Maues) on the reverse. Nor can I see the Strato/Agathocleia coins as propaganda in a disputed succession — there is no obvious counter to them, nor is the Hermaeus/ Calliope issue in such a context; there was no one of enough distinction for Calliope's father to be decisive in a propaganda claim, and she brings new types from her father's kingdom. The authority for a regency comes from a male minor, so

it is natural that his head should be in front and that it should be on the prestigious denomination — the joint coins of Strato/Agathocleia are T, while she alone coins D (with Strato's name on the reverse), minor coinage, and if the gold type 211 comes here, her name is not on it. As Regent Agathocleia's would not be propaganda coins beyond the fact that name and feature of the issuer is propaganda. Hellenistic and especially Roman coinage is often propaganda, but I suspect that this is rare in India where political life was far less extensive or fluid.

47 Agathocleia is a more likely name for a Euthydemid than a daughter of Eucratides or Heliocles. She is of royal birth, not cadet. If she was the daughter of Agathocles, he was killed young in 168; she would be born c 170 (not before 175), and is rather young for marriage even in 158; cadet birth would also detract from her status. As Heliocles was born c 180, she would certainly be older than his son by 10 years. We want an explanation of her appearance on the coins if only the wife of a legitimate heir, and none is forthcoming. How much easier to take her with Tarn as Agathocles' sister, very likely older, wife of Menander, giving as daughter, sister and wife of kings as mother a far stronger claim to legitimacy to her son as ruler (and self as regent) than would the ex-refugee daughter of a sub-king. The youth of her son suggests a rather later than earlier marriage to Menander, probably after Demetrius' death, though she might have had a string of daughters unless Strato's claim is as first son after Menander became king. 158 is a good date for Strato's birth as he should not have needed a regent if born before 165, and Menander dying on a campaign suggests a sudden death, and therefore a minor heir more likely. Strato I was the last Greek king of Mathura, lost in 101/0, and we want neither him nor his wife 70-80 at that time. Agathocleia would be about 35 in 158, and if she died in 143-0 she would have had quite a long life for those days. Greeks would understand her portrait on the coins as Queen-mother and Regent, but Indians might be uncomfortable about female rule — Nanda's queen had left a bad reputation — so that *dharmika*, according to *dharma* would be a politic

reassurance, which experience after his first issue indicated to Strato that he would be wise to retain. For Agathocleia we offer :

147	304.369	D	
146	303.x	D	
145	.71	D	AE 307.71 te
144	306.71	D	

La gives the gold type 211 to Agathocleia, and rightly asks why no name on the coin? One might suggest timidity in announcing female rule; but the better argument is for Menander. Agathocleia could be understood as Athene on the coin; the owl, her bird, was Menander's early type, so Agathocleia could be seen as Athene (accompanying her husband to war), so that his issue is complimenting her.

48 We now take the first part of Strato I. Born 158, he needs a regent on accession in 148 and is at manhood at 16 (our 15) in 143. He would have reached the respectable age of 57/8 at the fall of Mathura, which gives him times to be shown young and old on his coinage. He is attacked and defeated by Heliocles in 138-7 (probably on the death of the Parthian Mithradates I), and driven out of the Greek coinage area to take refuge in the plains, his kingdom extending from Sialkot to Mathura and being run on Indian lines. We offer :

143	308.71	D	308.101	D	308.72 ill.3	Ha393	T
142	.75	D	.236	D	.426		D
141	309.73	D	309.236	D	309.S		D
140	313.71	D			310.73		T
139	311.71	D			314.71		T
138	312.85	D					

AE

143	333.75	te
142	.73	te

141	S	te
140	.109 S	te
139	.155 S	te
138	.251	te

Here we suggest Heliocles interrupts Strato's coinage in the Greek area; Strato retreats to the safer and more lucrative dominions in the plains, whence he is unable to emerge till the great debacle of the Śaka invasion in 129.

49 Heliocles had been in exile, originally possibly with his Syrian cousins, but he might well have combined with Mithradates I of Parthia against Strato, causing the death of Strato's sub-king Zōilus I. It is hard to see Heliocles driving out Strato in 138-7 if he had suffered a severe defeat by Mithradates in 141. A family alliance of Heliocles and Demetrius is more likely than of Strato and Demetrius, but blood may have been thicker than water, and as politics go, service by Heliocles for Mithradates against Strato is quite possible, and would be typical of Greek *stasis*. The attack by Heliocles on his own initiative on Strato would be in celebration of Mithradates' death, which would free him from a (potential) suzerain and fear of danger in his rear. As Antiochus III was born in 240/39, his sister's son Eucratides would be born 210-05 and Heliocles 185-0. We offer a scheme for Heliocles beginning in 145 with an overlap of 1 year (+) with Zōilus I 145-4, whom, we could put up 1 year if this is objectionable, ending in 145 when Heliocles begins. We offer, observing TMQ's die-linkages:

145	284.9	pearl	Q509 511-4	AT	284.144	pearl	Q529	AT
144	.9	B&R	Q474-9	AT	.144	B&R	Q516-8	AT
143	.9	B&R	Q481-5	AT	.73a		Q588	AT
142	.9a'		Q486-8	AT	.70		Q410-49	AT
141	.9b		Q489-508	ATD	.70		Q386-7 401-8	AT
140	.3a		Q548-54	AT	.70		Q391-5 398-400	AT
139	.112		Q575-7	AT	.70		Q409	AT

138	284.113	—	ATD 284.70	Q450-72	AT
137	.113 NZ	Q580-1	AT .433a	Q591	AT
136	.15a'	Q578-9	AT .284a	Q472	AT
135	.281	—	ATD .374a	Q573-4	AT
134	.26b	Q584-5	AT .378	Q555-61	AT
133	.68b	Q590	AT .322	Q537-44	AT
132	.68a	Q473	AT .322a	Q530-6	AT
131	.69a	Q589	AT .DL	Q562-4	AT
130	.59a	Q586-7	AT .Du	Q565-8	ATD
129	286.303	—	ATD 286.302	ill.5T	ill.1D
135	284.179	La	AT		
134	.173	La	x		
133	.297	La	AD		
132	.2d *	Q515 ?510	AT (2d = 2b minus middle vertical)		
131	.182	Q570 572	AT		
130	.411	Q569 571	AT		
129	286.411	La	x		

Of these 7 the last two could go up 1 year, the others are clearly floating.

Differences when the mintmark is the same depend on the diadem; I find 13 different treatments for Heliocles compared with 5 for Eucratides II, of which 3 are only on *Sōtēr* coins; for Eucratides I I find only 1, which can argue for making two Eucratides, and putting the *Sōtēr* coins early in the reign of Eucratides II. Sim. adds x.430 x.

50 We may now look at Heliocles' bilinguals. They are on Indian standard and should be issued on the defeat of Strato.

137	288.70	D	288.101	D	288.71	T
136	.73	D	.223	D	.223	TD

Success; to the death of Strabo I 101 B.C.

51

135	288.165	D	288.222	D	288.237a	D
134	.162	D	.S 331a	D	.236	D
133	.29	TD	S	D	290.236	T
132	290.29	TD	292.S	D	292.236	T
131					.233	T
129					.234 Ha333	T
					291.236 (20a?)	T
AE						
137	294.71	te				
136	.233	te				
135	.165	te				
134	S	te				
133	.29	te				
132	295.29	te				
131	296.9a'	S te (12 S LA)				
130	x	te				
129	297.x	te				

51 Whitehead was willing to have two Heliocles on the grounds of the portrait. The head is much less like Heliocles on the bilingual coins and more like Menander, but this may have been conciliatory — Heliocles should be thought as familiar and benevolent as Menander. For the Attic coins age 35-50 gives time to change from idealized youth to ugly old age. Heliocles was *dikaios*, rightful king, presumably against Zoilus and Strato I who was only *Sōtēr* to his Greek subjects— Menander's son had no need of *dikaios*; *dhramika* had Indian connotations and was not on the Greek legend; that came later on his return from the plains.

52 We now come to Eucratides II. He could be born any time after 160, but we suggest in 145 when his father became (successful) king, and was 16 when his father died; we have mentioned the possibility

that he issued his grandfather and namesake's types with his own portrait, young. He calls himself *Sōtēr*; why? The easy answer would be recovering from the disaster of the Saka invasion; but how profound was the disaster? Coinage does not seem to be interrupted. Titles should not be dropped without a (greater) substitute. I do not believe in special titles for one locality; there should be some success; if against Strato I one might expect an issue of Indian weight, but though Qunduz has multiplied Eucratides I's coins, they are still all Attic. It could be that he had part in the defeat and death of the Parthian Artabanus. We begin his issues in 128, not coining immediately on his father's death in 129. This brings Plato down 116 (or 119?)- 111. This fits Strato I well, bringing his silver as *Epiphanēs* down to 108, with Menander II *Dikaios* 108-4 and Philoxenus 108-0. With the fall of Mathura in 101 (82nd year) no longer able to get aid from the plains he would be liquidated in 100.

53 We offer for Eucratides II:

128	164.63	Q274-5	AT	164.14a	Q335	AT
127	.82	Q517-20	AT	.14	Q333-4	ATD
126	.78d	Q339	AT	.17a	Q336	AT
125	.78b	Q328-31	AT	.52	Q292-5 297-306	AT
124	.78c	Q332	AT	.56	Q276-91	AT
123	.78a	Q327	AT	.56a	—	AT
122	.78	Q321-6	AT	2b	Q338	AT
121	.86c	Q340	Al	2	Q311-4 316	AT
120	173.278a	Q358-60	AT	173.2	Q341-4 ill.s 1-2	AT
119	.8c'	Q356	AT	2	Q361-77	AT
118	.184c' ill.3	MMx	AT	2	Q354-5	AT
117	.2c	Q350-2	AT	2	Q349	AT
116	.320	Q353	AT	2	Q345-7	AT

There are also 164.162 Q307-10 & .378 Q 337 AT; 284 & 284b? (ill.2)

AD and 173.2 Q348 AT. I have just 2 AE, unplaceable, 171.- x & 174.x d. The variations of 173.2 depend again on the diadem treatment. .18c' Q356 is die-linked to .2 Q354-5 and .320 Q353 to .2c Q352. Q350-77 show the same falling parallel ends of the diadem, but e.g. in Q358-9 they are broad, in Q354-6 narrow, and in Q366 more separated. The above observes TMQ's die-links. La adds 164.270 (with reference to Prinsep) & 104.

54 We now come to Plato. I find that MM's sub-kings, colleagues and co-kings do not make sense. If one is going to appoint a colleague a blood relationship is necessary - Diocletian is an exception. *Basileus* is not a title to be conferred like Earl or Viscount. Menander may take the title because of marriage to the rightful queen (not likely on it); Antimachus has Euthydemid blood. But in the Seleucid empire Seleucid blood was necessary for the kingly title, and this should apply to subsequent Indo-Greeks. Generals do not want or promote equals, and we are not here at the stage of 3rd century AD Rome.

55 MM puts Plato parallel to Eucratides, perhaps his sub-king. At first sight his mintmark 42 favours this as it flourishes from Menander to Zōilus in 145 or Antimachus II 148. Menander has 42 & 44, which Eucratides I only shows in 155 with Indian standard, a year Menander doesn't: the obvious suggestion is that here is the victorious campaign from which Eucratides was returning to collect reinforcements when he was surprised and killed (his 188.26b is also read as 44, which accompanies 42 *pari passu* in Menander's earlier years). Plato coins a Eucratidean type, and only Attic, which should place him beyond the Hindu Kush. Eucratides could not make sub-kings during Antiochus' life, but a scheme can be made for Plato for the years 163-54. But the title *Epiphanēs* is troublesome; why and how, meaning what is it used? Plato could hardly call himself so during the lifetime of Eucratides I. We therefore try him as a brother of Heliocles, but a son born before H, became king and so older than Eucratides II is possible (but nomenclature difficulty should arise unless an older Eucratides died young and II was his replacement). Plato will then take his title as a tribute to Antiochus IV whom he might still admire after 50 years. A strong reason for our placing him here is that we believe Strato I took over his title

on eliminating him in 111. We still have to decide the relationship between Plato and Eucratides II. We offer two schemes; in the first he is the successor, in the second he shares in the success that made Eucratides II *Sōtēr* and is set up by him; this may make a better order of mintmarks, but that it makes a better order of politics is not so sure. Plato's coins do not appear in the Qunduz hoard, which might suggest burial in fear of Strato's invasion. Thus:

115	196.78	MZ	La plXXIX.1	AT	196.42	MN	AT
114	.42	MZ		AT	.42	MN	AT
113	197.42	MZ		AT	197.42	RMZ	AT
112	198.42a		La plXXIX.3	AT	198.42		AT
111	199.43			AT			or 2:

119	196.78	MZ	La plXXIX.1	AT
118	.42	MZ		AT
117	.42	MH		AT
116	.42	MN		AT
115	197.42	RMZ		AT
114	.42	MZ		AT
113	198.42			AT
112	.42a		La plXXIX.3	AT
111	199.43			AT

Sim. adds x.305. I have found only AT; why no AE or D? We might note that Lysias used the mark 42, so that revival by Plato bridges the gap somewhat. While we could put these coins up to 163-55, besides the matter of title, putting Strato I's triumph up to 116 does not help.

56 We may now return to Strato I, who returns to the area on the opportunity offered by the death of Heliocles and the Śaka invasion of 129. He is now *dikaioi*, rightful king, as well as liberator *Sōtēr*, but his triumph is incomplete for some time until he overthrows Plato in

111 and takes his title *Epiphanēs*. Strato could undertake operations in the NW, because his Suṅga neighbours on the S & SE are in chaos after 132, and certainly after 129, and did not recover till Bhāgabhadra's accession in 114—and he would take a few years to consolidate. Indeed it is probably his consolidation that draws Strato back into the plains, Sialkot or Mathura in 109-8, leaving Menander II and Philoxenus as his sub-kings in the NW, though his AE type 336 might continue to remind his humbler subjects (who would use copper) that he is still suzerain. Strato watching the SE is again out of the Greek coinage area. There seem to be very few drachmae, perhaps because of the flood of Menander I's. We offer:

128	319.219		T		
127	.220a		T		
126	316.233		T		
125	.234	ill.2	T		
124	317.219		T		
123	.71		T		
122	315.71		T		
121	318.72		T		
120	322.85		T		
119	.73		D		
118	324.73		T		
117	320.73		T		
116	.71		TD		
115	.426		T		
114	S		T		
113	327.S		T		
112	326.72	Ha389	D	(.85a MM)	
111	328.85a		T	AE	334.85 te

110	329.85	T	335.233	te
109	332.233	T	336.233	te
108	.29	T	336.29	te
107	330.29	TD	.306f ku	te
106	.233	D	.ga 104a	te
105	.162R	D	.kra 162	te
104	.162L	D	.162	te

Until the late years as for Plato and virtually Eucratides II we have no copper. Was an Indian appointed over the AE in 107? Here We have the first coins with Kharoṣṭhi letters in the mark.

57 We find La & Bivar more convincing in separating Menander *Sōtēr* from *Dikaïos* who uses none of *Sōtēr's* mintmarks and has different AE types. The *Nikē* on his silver is used by *Sōtēr* on copper, but King on prancing horse is only used by Antimachus II before Philoxenus. Using *Dikaïos* would suggest that Strato's wife was Antimachus II's daughter — which would be a suitable dynastic alliance. *Sōtēr* had no inherited claim to make him *Dikaïos*, and no satisfactory explanation is given of his taking the title, but Menander II, appointed by his father Strato has a claim to legitimacy also from his grandfather. I take it that with the change of government on Strato's reconquest and subsequent retiremant *Dikaïos* both claims legitimacy and promises justice — no reprisals or patronage appointments. We offer the scheme :

108	230.197	D	AE	253.197	te
107	229.27a	D		254.27a	te
106	.267	D		252.29	te
105	228.266	D		.227	te
104			?	.244g	te

58 Next comes Philoxenus, whom we take as Strato's chief lieutenant in the NW. The suggestion is that he was older and more experienced than Menander II who could not be born before 141. Certainly he would be about 30 in 109, so we should perhaps rather suggest his experience had been civilian - left in charge in the plains while his father was

campaigning in the NW; he would be too young for the early campaigns, where we suggest Philoxenus got his experience. We would suggest that he was a brother-in-law of Strato (brother is possible), and might well be a son of Antimachus II whose reverse he copies. He has a surprising number of mintmarks. His *biruda Anikētos* is doubtless meant to recall Demetrius I. We offer the scheme:

108	337.233	AT	338.179	TD	338.S 72	TD
107	338.233	T	337.S 247	AT	.76	T
106	.234	D	338.S 247	TD	.73	TD
105	.217	T	.247	T	.75	TD
104	340.218	T	340.242	T	340.75	D
103	.234	D	.247	T	.198 ill3	TD
102	.29	D	.S 247	TD		
101	343.101	T	343.S 247	T		
100			343a.S 247	T	343a.162	T

108	338.165	TD	AE 346.x	te
107	.162	T	344.75/va	te
106	.198	D	.75	te
105	.214a	TD	.247/S	te
104	340.214a	TD	.257	te
103	.93	D	.130	te
102	342.165	D	.162/S	te
101	341.162	D	.101	te
100	343a.162	T	345.213/S	te

341.162 comes from IMCS. Type 343a differs from 343 by the rough helmet (La's Medusa helmet; see MM ill.s 4-5 for the difference). The rev. of type 343, Helios to front may be taken over from Plato. Sim. adds x.265, .361 ; La pl .27 adds 338.20 AT (KM) from Qunduz, no mention in any appendix. La & MM want more collating.

DISRUPTION ; ANTIALCIDAS — HERMAEUS, 100-24BC

59 We now come to Antialcidas and must again labour what should no longer be necessary. His date is fixed by the Besnagar inscription, which is fixed by the Purāṇa. Scholars should have considered the context and *raison d'être* of the inscription. Envoys should not be thought to get such a religious fit for a foreign deity in a strange land as to go to the personal expense of raising a not cheap monument not quickly made in its favour. The embassy and column must be explained politically. Unimportant states do not send embassies to unimportant states with big sums of money (which the pillar implies). Nor do they send trade missions to countries with which they can only have relations through 3 or 4 intervening states. In other words Antialcidas and Bhāgabhadra had a common neighbour, Strato I, who ruled as far as Mathura. The pillar is erected in celebration of a successful mission for an alliance, one which cost the Greeks Mathura in the 82nd year of their occupation, 101/100 B.C. Antialcidas should have concentrated enough power by 102, and we are willing to begin him somewhat earlier—Philoxenus loses mintmark 75 by 103. The only empires worth an embassy are the Śuṅga and Āndhra. The Āndhra king is Satakarni II, whose 14th year is 120/19, both too early for Antialcidas for whom the coins will not give the 30 years suggested by Tarn, and the Indian names bear no resemblance. Of the Śuṅgas Vajramitra had a 14th year after his first accession, but as he died 115-4 within a year the alliance should not have been very successful — the Śuṅgas were in turmoil at this time. Bhāgavata, who is far nearer the Bhāgabhadra of the inscription, (satisfactorily near when we consider the variants of Indian royal names) has the only long reign. By 102 he would have been able to restore

order in his empire and how ready to expand into the brahman heartland, the upper Ganges basin from which the Greeks had expelled his ancestor in 182. We have now a real context for the pillar, which replaced one that had recently collapsed (as shown by Irwin); the diplomat wanted to make a good impression, which he evidently did, and the alliance followed.

60 But if Antialcidas wanted an alliance with an outsider, he might want one with an insider too. Here Lysias comes in; who was he? There is an easy suggestion; Agathocleia's regency ended in 144-3; Strato I would marry then or very soon after at his royal majority and Menander II would be born 141-8, not more than 3 years later. He could beget by 122-1. Strato I is living in India and the early marriage needed by such dates is exemplified by the Mauryas according to the Purāṇa. When Menander II died in 104 (5?), his son Strato (II) would be just or just not of age, perhaps his grandfather's spoiled favourite and liable to have a faction to cause trouble if passed over. His promotion was not acceptable to his uncle Lysias (whose elephant scalp seems to proclaim Euthydemid lineage and perhaps an intention to reclaim the lowland empire). Disappointed of his expectation he seeks to right himself in the Greek tradition of *stasis*, going over to the family enemy, i.e. Antialcidas. A Greek male friendship may well have sprung up between them; the resultant gestures, the joint coin (not a mule, copper that carries messages more widely to the populace), joint use of mints, mixture of Euthydemid and Eucratidean types may be extravagant, but are explicable naturally on such a relationship, the more so as both seem to die the same year (and we suggest together). As for Lysias' nephew, it could be that he never got into the Greek coinage area. We first thought of MM's Strato II, but he wants to put these coins later, and it may be easier to suppose that Lysias' jealousy was of Philoxenus, the brother-in-law of the old king, his uncle by marriage on the male side, but uncle on the female. We suggest Antialcidas is a son of Plato born c 140; if of Heliocles he should have succeeded Eucratides II in 115. Observing when the mints are free from Philoxenus, we offer the scheme :

103	276.75R	ill3	D	273.19		T		
102	.76	" 2	D	.214	LaNc	T	270.204a	AT
101	.73u	" 1	D	.73		T	269.204a	AT
100	275.73R		D	275.73R	La CMB	T	271.204a	AT
99	.73u		D	?278.107	PMC 172	D	275.204a	D
98	279.73R	ill.7	D	279.165		D	279.204a	D
97	.76R	" 6	D	.162		D		
96	277.75u		D	277.162	D			
95	.73u		D	.165	D		277.204aD	
100	271.75		AD					
99	.165		AT					
98	274.73		T					
AE								
103	283.19		te					
102	281.204a			281.45		d		
101	280.204a		te	268.109	S	te		
100	.75		te					
99	.73		te	280. 384	S		te (MBC 21-2 ill.14)	
98	.110	S	te	(see ill.s & BMC19 ill.9)				
97	.162		te					
96	.165		te					
95	.131		te					

In types 275-9 La notes the varieties of elephant, looking at, aiming for, seizing the wreath, and going away without. I suggest the last represents the beginning of the story; Lysias (with the elephant scalp on his coins) had come away with nothing, turned, aimed at and took

Disruption ; Antialcidas — Hermaeus, 100-24BC

61

the crown with Antialcidas' help. 278.107 seems unique and posthumous issue is possible. It has an imperfect inscription; C sigma & W omega look unofficial, especially if overstruck on Lysias 202 (if the remains of *aniketos* is not of Philoxenus, a more likely overstrike). La adds x.199, Sim. x .352.

61 We now offer a scheme for Lysias, trying to coordinate with Antialcidas:

101	260.109	S	AT	259.110 S		AT
100	261.109	S	D	.110	137c	AT
99	265.109	S	D	259.204a		AT
98	264.109	S	D	264.204a		D
97	262.109	S	D	262.204a	ill.8	D 262.165 ill. 1 D
96	.109g	S	D	.204	" 7	D .162 " 2 D
95	263.109g	S	D.110 S	ill.4		D
AE						
101	267.204a		te	267.42	te	
100	268.109	S	te	.39	La te?	
99	266.109	S	te			
98	.73		te			
97	.75		te			
96	.162		te			
95	.165		te			

Sim. adds x.305.

62 At this point there is chaos for some years. We suggest that Lysias began his revolt with the blessing of Antialcidas, and got his power-base later, just before the loss of Mathura and death of Strato I, and they fell together. We begin his coinage therefore in 101. Next comes Diomedes. We originally put him after Antialcidas, and his reign can be compressed between 95 & 90, but this makes a gap from Philoxenus

whose marks are closely related to his — this also prevents us putting him in the 120s with Eucratides II or before Philoxenus in the teens when Plato would also be in the way. Philoxenus' types hark back to Menander and the Euthydemids, while Diomedes' are clearly Eucratidean. The closeness of the mintmarks inclines us to make Diomedes an immediate successor beginning in 100, since we allowed Philoxenus to hold out somewhere till that year. .73 & .75 are the only marks shared with Lysias and Antialcidas, and they can easily be brought down till after 95. Diomedes is *Sōtēr*, so he should be claiming to make some delivery. We suggest he is the son and colleague of Antialcidas (hence the Eucratidean types, hard to explain if against him), who did the actual killing of Philoxenus. Noting that Archebius does not rise till after his death we offer:

100			351.97	T	AE	
99	351.S 247	T			354.S 247 ROM	te
98		T	351.101	T	S	te
97	347.233	TD	347.101	TD		
96	349.233	D	349.101	T		
95	.234	D				
94	352.234L	D				
93	.234R	D			354.75	te
92	353.234R	D	353.227	D (La)	354.73	te
91	.234L	D				

Note that there is no more AT or AD; we suggest that Mithradates II took the opportunity of the troubles to seize Bactria.

63 I am now inclined to take Polyxenus, whom I must reinterpret. He is *Sōtēr Epiphanēs*. Pace MM, I do not see him taking such titles under Heliocles or Eucratides I; the combination is Strato I's; he should then be a grandson trying to restore the family fortunes. His type Athene is that of Strato Epiphanes, MM 330. It could be that he was responsible for the death of Lysias and Antialcidas, but was himself eliminated by

Archebius, who takes over the 162 number in 90 and 233 in 88. The suffix - xenos makes connection with Philoxenus possible; grandson? .29 was used by Philoxenus. We offer:

91	298.162	D	AE	300.29	te	300.163	La	te?
90	.233	T		.233	te			

La adds 300.163, but not in any appendix. 162-3 could represent a refugee from the Bactrian mint, taking service with Archebius on his victory. It is generally agreed that Polyxenus was followed by Archebius at Puṣkalavati; evidently he was thrown out but not eliminated for another year. The dates given could go up 1 year.

64 This brings us to Peucolaus. Archebius 358 is once overstruck on Peucolaus (MM thinks 356 also possible; *dikaïou k(ai)* that he records is on Peucolaus', not Archebius' coins). He is *Dikaïos kai Sōtēr*; hence we take him as a son of Antialcidas saving from Polyxenus, legitimate by his father. His type is taken over by Maues; are they brothers-in-law? Archebius seems to have preferred to do the saving himself; he used the same double mark as Peucolaus, for whom we offer:

90			AE 370.272	te
89	369.233	236 T	.233	te

Sim. adds x.224. La reads 233 as 235, but MM's photo of the same coin is clear.

65 Lysias had modelled himself on Demetrius I, taking his title *anikētos* (perhaps with a sideswipe at Philoxenus). His successor is Theophilus, evidently an usurper without royal blood, *autokratōr*— he may have been the surviving senior commander of Lysias' defeated army. He continues Lysias' reverse type Heracles crowning himself, and his AE shows Heracles' head, the strong man and human benefactor. He could have been responsible for Lysias' and Antialcidas' deaths by conspiracy, but the suggestion is gratuitous. Diomedes' existence prevented him taking the kingdoms of both. Despite trying to claim legitimacy (presumably by army election), he did not last long. We offer the scheme :

64

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94	372.73	D	AE	375.75	te
93	.214a	T		x	te
92			371.120 AT	376.245	ills 2-3 te
91	374.247	D		.247	te

66 There is no reason why Theophilus should not have been put down by Archebius, whom we can now begin in 90:

90	361.402	22	D					
89	.162	22	D	363.236		T		
88	356.162	22	D	364.236	helm rough	T		
87	.162		D	.236	" smooth	T		
86	.404		T	356.236		T		
85	.164		D	.233 236		T	356.29	T
84	358.164	helm rough	T	358.233 236	rough	T	358.29	T r
83	.164	" smooth	TD	.233	smooth	T		
82				355.233		AT	360.29	T
81				362.233	smooth	T		
80				.236	"	T		
79				.362	rough	T		

AE

88	366.233		te		
87	365.233		te		
86	.236		te		
85	.29		te		
84	367.29		te	367.234 Ha	366 te
83	368.29		te		
82	.30		te		

La adds x. 355 & 356.407 (reread 404?); MM ignores. There is not really enough AE. Note 1 AT of Theophilus, 1 Archebius after 95.

67 We now come to Artemidorus. It is not clear who he is. He shares marks with Theophilus, and there could be a relationship with Peucolaus, who showed Artemis on his coins. MM makes him sub-king to Amyntas, but they have nothing in common; Nicias and Artemidorus do. Nicias' coins are found mostly east of the Indus, Artemidorus' west. They could have been sons of Lysias whose epithet *anikētos* (which puts him out as a sub-king of Archebius) is taken by Artemidorus; it sounds like a parody, but he must have shown a talent for survival—on the fringe, before being liquidated by Maues - for he has a surprising number of mint-marks, some peculiar to himself. Neither king can be connected with the succeeding Apollodotus II. Hippostratus, etc. We offer the scheme unenthusiastically:

90	400.124	TD AE	404.124	te	
89	398.124	TD	.126	te	406.126 X
88	S	D	.247	te	
87	402.437	D	.437	te	405.- X
86	.179	D	.179	te	.259b' X
85	.28	TD	.214a 374a	te	
84	.414 La NSXLp20	D	.374a75	te	
83	.170	D	.73	te	

Type 398.124 shows two portraits, one long-headed which reminds one of Hermaeus (e.g. 414 ill.6); MM is willing to doubt their genuineness, and may well be right. I would not expect Artemidorus' coins to be forged in ancient times — Menander I's or Eucratides', yes. One would not expect forgery of the obscure much before 1880. If genuine, another year's issue to end Artemidorus in 82 is always possible.

68 We may now take Nicias. He rather than Archebius may have overthrown Theophilus, perhaps suggested by the immediate use of the 247 mark; he may have had the right to do so as of Euthydemid

lineage, and so a claim to be really *Sōtēr*. However *Sōtēr* is becoming very common in the chaos, and may mean no more than a call for Greek solidarity. We offer a scheme, but are very uncertain of the proper order. Type 380 should show a naval victory, and 378 a victory; this could be the victory that established Nicias in power, or it could be a temporary success against Maues. 3 mintmarks with 4 issues are shared with Artemidorus' copper (not AR). This may suggest some kind of business agreement. We offer possibly:

90	378.247	D	AE	380.247	te
89	.75	D		?-	te
88	La5.75	D		381.-	te
87	379.216	D		382.-	te
86	377.214a	T		383.-	te

While our order is dubious, 5 years seems the maximum reign

69 We may now take Maues. Tarn wants him as successor to Artemidorus as well as to Archebius; while we take Apollodotus II as succeeding Nicias, we are willing to begin him under Maues' suzerainty — setting up a sub-king/satrap from the same family is good Aryan practice. Nicias we take as succumbing to Maues, whom we were brought up to credit with a long and successful reign (the latter almost presupposes the former) of 40+ years, ending in the catastrophe of 57 BC, but the paucity of silver types and mintmarks speaks against this. A date 68-7 for his death is consistent with the Chinese evidence. We suspect he fell to a coalition of Amyntas, Apollodotus II and quite probably Vonones. We do not doubt Maues' wide dominion from the quantity of his coins. It is natural to suppose that his coins as *basileus* precede those of *basileus megas*, Great King; but at least two of the former are overstruck on the latter. As other types (705-6 & 732) are small coins (d & X), the distinction would appear to fail. We were willing to assume that the title *megas* was assumed on taking Taxila from Archebius, but the elimination of Nicias, ?Artemidorus, Arsaces Theos might be enough. Notable is the preponderance of copper over silver; the Śuṅgas too seem to be short of silver at this time: it has seemed

that copper is more conspicuous when the power-base is on peasants rather than merchants' trade. I suggest types 677-80, hD, qD, D/6, put by MM before Vonones, are Maues'. I cannot get him back the date of the Maira inscription 100/99; he should have been coining before taking over Taxila. We offer a scheme hD & AE beginning in 88 before the overthrow of Nicias. Types 677-80 have no legend, and only 4 types (AE) have the simple title *basileus*. Thus:

88	677.109f	hD	Add in those years 679.x/x	qD	
87	.109d	hD			& 680.426 D/6
86	.109e	hD	AE		
85	.109c	hD	732.x	(before 80)	X
84	.109'c'	hD	.302		X
83	.11a'	hD	.305		X
82	-	hD	706.29		d
81	678.-	hD	705.29		d
80	.sa	hD	707.29		te
79	701.E	D	702.29		te
78	.EX	D	703.29		te
77	.117a'	D	717.117a'		te
76	712.291a	D	.a		te
75	.153	TD	.154a		te
74	736.231	T	718.345		te
73	699.231	TD	.345a		te
72	.29	T	.mim/pri		te
71	.30	T	720.pri		te
70	.39	T	.pri/da mi		te
69	.300c	D	719.120d/da mi		te (ill.s 1-2)
68	714. sa mi	D	.120/da mi		te

80				
79	709.29	AET	711/S/ya	AEP
78	710.29	AET	728.S 381	AEP
77	708.29	AET	.236a	AEP
76	.117a'	AET	.291a	AEP
75	723.291a	AET	721.291a	AEP
74	726.291a	AET	.291a/pri	AEP
73	735.231	AET	.69/pri	AEP
72	734.228	AET	.153L	AEP
71	.260a	AET	.153R	AEP
70	PMCr.x	AET	727.x	AEP
69	724.x	AET	.120a/da mi	AEP
68	725.x	AET	722.120a/da mi	AEP

We take Arsaces Theos with 698.117a' as one of the contenders for power in Parthia after the death of Mithradates II in 88. We would put him with a short success in the troubles after the death of Archebius in 79/8, as the mark seems to flourish 78-6.

70 We now come to Apollodotus II, Maues' contemporary, who presents problems enough. He is taken as a grandson of Apollodotus I as Zoilus II of Zoilus I. As he died after 67, 115 is soon enough for his birth; 2 non-ruling generations seem to be missing, thus: Apollodotus I b c 215, Zōilus I c 185, non-ruling Apollodotus c 160 (as Zōilus dying in 144 could not beget Apollodotus II), a non-ruling Zōilus c 135, Apollodotus II 115-0. Why does Apollodotus become *philopatōr* in 73? and why does the title not spread to the copper until the last issues? There is no royal father in the coinage, or to be avenged, so we must presume the father was willing to serve the son as Vistaspa did Darius. We could begin Apollodotus in Nicias' lifetime, as they share no marks — nor does he with Archebius (except La's misprint

of 234 for 244). We offer the scheme:

84	425.-	D			
83	.120c	D			
82	.121	D			
81	.133	D			
80	.403	D			
79	.189	D			
78	.189 dri	D	425.258		D
77	.189 sam	D	.275 ICMS		D
76	.189 ram	D	.274		D
75	.189 277	D	.5 300 La		D
74	.131a'	D	.5 ram (AA)		D
73	424.131a'	D	.5 (AA)		D
72	.119	D	.5 (AD)		D
71	.399	D (ill.s 30-1)	.5 (AC)		D
70	.122	D	.5 (AB)		D
69	.183	D	.5 (BB)		D
68	.231	D	.5 (BC)		D
67	.224 bi La	D	259.5 stra	D	
74	425.4 ram	(AA)	D		
73	.4	(AA)	D		
72	.4	(AD)	D		
71	.4	(AC)	D		
70	.4	(AB)	D		
69	.4	(BB)	D 423.259 di (AC)	T	

70

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68	.4	(BC)	D	.259 di (BB)	T
67	.4	(BD)	D	.231	T
66				.230 208a	T

For (AA, AB) etc see MM's ill.s of Kharoshthi -tra- and pendant of Athene's aegis.

AE

84	438.-	d			
83	437.-	d			
82	435.x	d	431.mim ji	2te	
81	.da ga	d	.da gi	2te	
80	436.da ga	d	428.x ji	2te	?434.230 te
79	428.189	te	.bu	2te	
78	.189 dri	te	.ra	2te	
77	.?345	te	.mim di	2te	
76	.303	te	432.ram di	2te	
75	.42d ill.6	te	.190 ram di	2te	
74	.25 ill.s 5&7	te	.190 di	2te	
73			.?183 ram tha	2te	IMC36&LaVIII.1
72			.183	2te	
71			.119/pu mi	2te	
70			.4/a ru	2te	
69	?434.230	te	.4/a stu PMC331	2te	
68	427.231	d	.122/pam chu	2te	433.230 208a H
67	426.231	te	204.227 sa		te
66	.255b'	te	.224 ra sa		te

71 La adds x.114, ref NC 1870p68. Sim adds x.117 and 345 (tending to confirm 428.345). We could put 434.230 in 84-0 because of the plain

title, separating it from type 433, but if the mintmark is identified with Taxila, Apollodotus should not be there when Archebius is, not before Maues' death unless he lost Taxila shortly before: certainly Maues does not show 231 after 73, and does not actually use 230, and as Apollodotus initiates it, its first appearance cannot be fixed locally. Sim. credits it to Apollodotus I but is not followed by La or MM. Why MM gives type 204 to Apollodotus I, I do not know. 227 is first used by Diomedes and 224 by Peucolaus (Sim.), both making a big gap of years. The *Sōtēr* title may be imitating Apollodotus I, but is relevant to the situation of II; Apollodotus I does not use Kharoṣṭhi letters on his coins — they seem to occur first, with Philoxenus .75/va and but continuously only by Apollodotus 81-0 & Maues in ?76. We would suggest Apollodotus becomes *megas Sōtēr* on the fall of Maues.

72 We may now take Vonones and his subordinates. We suggest he is the Suren and also the Śaka in Indian parlance whose defeat is ascribed to Vikramāditya and marks the beginning of the Vikrama era and that of Azes in the NW. Such a situation accounts for the youth of the Suren who defeated Crassus at Carrhae in 54. Vonones' name is Parthian and his style is the old Iranian title of King of Kings; whether his subordinates should be etymologized in Parthian I do not know. We begin :

Vonones/Spalahores

67	681.244b	TD	AE	683.244b	te	683.x	d
66	.426a	TD		.426a	te	685.214a	d
65	.111a	TD		.111a	te		

Vonones/Spalagadama

64	686.260 IMCp42.1-	2TD	AE	691.260	te	688.109b	t
63	.374	TD		.374	te		
62	.375a	D		.109b	te	688.374	t
61	.109b	D		692.109b	te		

Vonones/Spalirises *Basileos adelphou*

60 689.260 TD

Sparilises *Basileus megas*

59 693.131c D AE 694.109b te

58 .92c te

Spalirises/Azes I

58 695.265 TD

57 .265a si TD 697.92c te

56 .265a ra D .92a te

55 .265 dhra D

73 All this may need more thought. 683.x can make a 4th year before or after; the maximum seems to be 5 with 685. Could Spalirises be *Great King* in Vonones' lifetime? If he had revolted one would expect Vonones to turn on him rather than India in 58, but perhaps he was too committed already to turn back. We do want Spalirises to be in a position to elevate Azes in 57, which suggests him being *megas* in 58; the status *basileōs adelphou* should probably not be taken physically, but rather a title indicating a superior command to organize support for Spalagadama (in which he was not successful) in view of the activities of Amyntas/Hermaeus and the Chinese in the north, leaving Vonones himself free to pursue his Indian venture. While *Philos tou Basileōs* is a title, *adelphos* is abnormal, but might indicate that Vonones had given his sister in marriage (which would certainly enhance authority). Did Azes count his reign from his association with his father or sole reign? We prefer the former, for which there is the parallel (Indian/Iranian) of Kujula Kadphises associated by his father Soter Megas on coming of age in 78, which begins the Śaka era. For *megas basileus* we may compare Gondophar and Orthagnes.

74 Spalyris/Spalahores is named on Spalagadama's copper, not Vonones; we suggest that with the limited circulation of copper the suzerain need to be particular; but silver was expected to circulate widely,

and there should be no misapprehension about the real ruler. I cannot fit Vonones into Parthian history — as Suren he would not be in the Arsacid kinglist — but suggest he is a partisan of Phraates III, who with the restoration of that monarch on the destruction of Darius would be able to turn his attention east, possibly on Phraates' orders. As Suren ruling over the Śakas of Seistan he could claim suzerainty over the Śakas of India, making it effective on the death of Maues. The title *basileus basileōn* might suggest Vonones was playing for his own hand, but the Suren is under Phraates in 54, and we may think of Spalirises as *basileus megas*. Vonones' death in 58-7 might have emboldened Mithradates III and Orodes to murder their father.

75 Before continuing with Azes we must return to the Greeks, firstly Telephus, whom we take as of non-royal birth, not using Tarn's word usurper, but as trying to save something from the wreck of Archebius. His types and title *Euergetēs* are unique, and his mintmarks connect him only with Maues — indeed he might have been his Quisling, since he uses .291a followed by 153 as Maues does in the years 76-5. We offer:

76	AE	453.291a	te
75	451.153	D	.153 te

La records 152, but his ill. shows 153.

76 After Telephus is Epander. We suggest that hardly was Telephus disposed of when Epander raised the Greek standard and could not be disposed of (even if killed in battle) as his son Amyntas carried on. MM's placing of Epander under Eucratides is unsatisfactory; the Seleucids did not multiply sub-kings, and while it may be surprising to find mark 162 again which Eucratides used, Eucratides did not use his other marks. Our dating is also supported by Epander's overstriking 302 (La) on Philoxenus. Epander uses Archebius' title *Nikēphoros* (also Antialcidas'). We offer :

73	AE 302.442	te
72	.184 162 PMC517	te

71	La2.151	T (forgery, MM)	.151 162	te
70	?301.150	D (looking R)	.150 PMC519 Ha 432	te
69	301.150	D (standing L)	.150 162	te

We might further support our date with the notice that the only coin of Eucratides I showing 2 mintmarks is 177.207 recorded by La, which we may suspect of being a posthumous issue; Heliocles & Eucratides II also have only one mark. On the copper Eucratides I shows marks 75-7 with E, and Menander on AR has 217 & 214.215 204 in 149-8, and letter with a mark, same types in 150-46. Letters + marks appear earlier on copper; we have 2 marks AE in 149 and on posthumous silver 214.215 54a & 144 204. Marks on both sides are used by Apollodotus I and Menander AE posthumous.

77 Amyntas is *Nikātōr* from the beginning. Maues' defeat was probably in 68, which is Amyntas' 1st year, though he may take a year + to have it celebrated by the double-decadrachm. These coins themselves support our date, for what occasion could there be if we must wait till 57, when we are already coming to Hermaeus?

They cannot be minted by a sub-king. We offer:

68	387.266	D	386.233	F x.150.162 AE	397.266	te
67	.268	D	385.233	F	.258	te
66	.265	D	387.2260a' (?266)	T		
65	392.265	D	387.257	D		
64	393.265	D	393.29	T	397.29	te
63	391.265	D	393.32	T	396.29	te
62	.233	D	.233	T	.261 BMC	
61	.94	D	389.233	T	.233	te
60	389.227e	D	.234 Ha77	T	.234	te
59			395.234 137	T		
58			.233	T		

78 After Amyntas we should take Hermaeus, but he is so involved with Azes I & Hippostratus that we prefer to go back to the successors of Apollodotus II. Dionysius follows Apollodotus' types most faithfully; he is *soter* like everybody else now. We suggest a disputed succession in which he got chased around before being eliminated. He shares marks with Apollodotus II, Zōilus II & Hippostratus. These last two do not share with one another, and presumably divided the kingdom. We offer for Dionysus:

65		AE	455.185c/di ra	2te	
64	454.190 ill.1		.si bi	2te	457.- d
63			.si ji	2te	
62	.189 ill. 2-3 D		456.mi ji	2te	

Palatal s in type 455.

79 We now turn to Zōilus II offering :

65	458.4 pendant	D		D		
64	.4 "	D		D		
63	.4 bu "	D		D		
62	.4 va "	A		D	AE	
61	459.190 "	A &.189 IMC 2	D	460.252/ka ja		2te
60	.190 BI "	A	D	461.ram di		2te
59	.190 go		D	462.ram di(?thu)		2te
58	.190 va		D	.di u		2te
57	.190 si		D	.a ra		2te
56	.190 dhram		D	464.a ra		d
55	.251 do BO		D	.a sa		d
54	.251 ji		D	.a sta		d
53	.251 ji dhram		D	.si ri		d
52	.251 ji dhram ma		D	x		d

51	.251 ji va	D		
50	.250e ji va	D	466.250e	X
49	.251 ji vam 415 bu	D	x	X
48	.251 ji 415	D	465.x	X
47	.251 sti 415	D	462.sti/vi a	te
46	.251 ha sti 349	D	x	te
45	.251 ha sti	D	464.vim	d
44	.251 ha stam	D		
43	.251 ga gri	D		

Clearly the dating of the copper is very flexible. si always palatal s: thu cerebral. Dionysius seems to have two workshops, and Zōilus suppresses one (mark 189) in his 2nd year.

80 We follow with Apollophanes, who has no copper. The pendants A & D make it impossible to have him follow Zōilus; it is perhaps easiest to take him as a younger son of Zōilus (predeceased by an elder presumably a further Apollodotus, still a minor at Apollodotus' death, made sub-king to assist, but dying young. We offer the scheme :

59	467.251	pendant	A	D
58	.251	"	D	D
57	.251	ma hi		D
56	.251	ma im		D
55 La	1.251	ma a		D

Our only difficulty with this is that Apollophanes is also *Sōtēr*, but in a decaying society everyone is. Thus leaves Zōilus to be succeeded by a Strato whom we must discuss later.

81 We return to Hippostratus, whom we originally placed 52-38, but Prof. Bivar wants him dead long before. He must follow Apollodotus II; if directly he will now go 66-51, but then must become *Sōtēr megas* in 61-0 when he must have had a notable victory; but

over whom? It would be safer to think of him as taking advantage of Vonones' debacle in 58/7 and begin type 443 in that year. We begin him then in 61, joining Zōilus in eliminating Dionysius, though the earlier date still allows contemporaneity with Hermaeus for marriage of his daughter. We offer the scheme :

61	439.186	TD			
60	.185a'a	TD			
59	441.230 ill.1	TD			
58	.230 " 2	T			
57	443.230 " s 1&3	T	443.91	mam lo	T
56	.230 " 2&4	T	.91	mam pri	TD
55	.345	T	.91	mam na ill.7	T
54			.91	mam ku BMC5-6	TD
53			.91	mam pa	T
52			445.91	mam pa	T
51			.91	mam na	T
50			.91	mam sa	T
49			.91	mam sra	T
48			.91	mam pra	T
47			.91	mam pri BMC7	T
46			.91	mam -	T
AE					

60	446.185a a ill.5	2te	448.185a a	te
59	.185a' a	2te	.185a'a	te
58	447.230	2te	450.230	Hd
57	.90 ma La NSXIV	2te	.231	d

56	.mam 91	2te	.228 ill.s 3-4	d
55			.221 BMC16 XIV8	d
54			.259	d

Clearly AE is incomplete and some movable. In 441 ill.1 the ribbon is vertical, in ill.2 slanting. In 443.230 ill.s 1&3 the bust does not touch the inscription, in 2&4 it does and the head is broader.

82 We now come to Hermaeus, the last considerable Greek king in India. We give him a longer reign, 57-24 than we did originally. He married Hippostratus' daughter — mutual assurance against the gathering dangers from 'barbarians', and she brings his type, not Zōilus', on the joint coins. Azes has set out on his career of conquest, and Hippostratus fell in 46-5, and the Stratos are negligible. Hermaeus must now look for allies, and it is in this context that he marries his daughter to Miaus/Heraus Kuṣāṇa who had driven him south from Bactria early in his reign, if we so interpret Hermaeus coin in the Qunduz hoard. Miaus/Heraus too was alarmed by Azes. The princess is the daughter of Calliope; she would be born c 54 and would be marriageable any time after 39, when Hermaeus seems to get short of silver. Her son, not necessarily firstborn, is Kujula Kadphises, born c 32, certainly not after 30, and it is on his mother's side that he can claim Greek allegiance in the time of Gondophar. Here the posthumous coinage comes in; it is notorious. But it seems to me that good portraiture goes with good Greek; with the legend STEROSSU the portrait degenerates, and we suggest that such coins were Kujula's propaganda issue. As Azilises liquidated Hermaeus, I cannot see him allowing such coinage, and Azes II was not likely to be more permissive if Kujula could play for Greek support in Hermaeus' name — his son is still *Sōtēr Megas*. There is certainly a Greek revival under Hermaeus, and it may well have been assisted by peace under a strong ruler of Parthia, securing the trade routes, and suspicious of expansionist Azes, Orodes II, who died in 38-7. With Azes freed from the Parthian danger owing to the troubles in that kingdom, we have a resulting rapprochement of Hermaeus and Miaus/Heraus. We had always credited Azes I with Hermaeus' end, but MM has docked Azes I and expanded II, so that it appears Azilises

must be responsible.

83 Hermaeus begins by copying his father's decadrachm. We offer:

57	412.233	ill.2	TD	412.73		T
56	.234		TD	.72 179		T
55	407.234		D	407.71		D
54	.233		TD			
53	410.233		T	407.73		D
52	.234		D			
51	414.233		TD	414.76	D 409.95	AT
50	.303	La KM	x	.72R	TD 414.93IMCVI.13	D
49	.313	La KM	x (?34)	.75L	.101	TD
48	.312		T	.86a	TD .218	TD
47	.303e	ill.9	D	.86b	D .218a	ill.12 T 17D
46	.303b	D	414.81d	D	414.109b	T
45	.308 125	TD	.81	D	.374a'	D
44	.21	TD	.46	TD	.111a	D
43	.6	D	.47	T	.419	D
42	.157	D	.41a'	T	.183	TD
41	.225	D	.38	TD	.154a	T
40	.230	BMC18D	.87	TD	.244c'	T
39	418.230	D	.34	D	.10	?T
38	.227	D				
37	.341	D				
36	.249 261	D				
35	.232 244	daD	418.336	ma	TD	
34	.232 244	maD	.418	ma	T	

33	.237 ma	T	.418 da	TD
32	.235 ga	T	.418 spaT	
31	.353 go	T	.317 spa ill.4	D
30	.353 khu ill.9	T	.317 ?dhram ill.6	D
29	.340 sa	D	.317 ?gra ill.5	D
28	420.340 sa	bT	420.226	bT
27	.353	bT	.226 sa	bTD
26	.353 va	bT	.226 spa	bT
25	.303d spra	bT	.226 dhra	bTD
24	.303d ka	bT		

We do not claim that a neater organization could not be made.

84 The copper presents a problem. Types 416-7 & 421 are of different weights, te & AET/D. The portrait on 421 is as on type 418 and especially 420; one ribbon of the diadem loops like a horse tail; in all previous types except MM's 414 d, h, k & t it fell naturally. We are therefore inclined to begin type 421 parallel with but a little later than 418, choosing 36-5, as from then on we find Kharoṣṭhi letters on the silver too. The heavier copper is minted as the silver gets poorer and rarer. Clearly there is a great deficiency of earlier copper. We offer:

AE

53			417.73	ill.8	te
50	417.101				te
49	416.101	te	416.75		te
48			.73		te
36	421.228 vi	AED	421.244f?ram	ill.3	AED
35	.228 ra	AET	.261 da		AETD
34	.228 mi	AET	.261 ma		AET
33	.228 mu BMC26 ill 4	AET	.261 jha		AET
32	.228 ho	AET	.264 kra	(?pra)	AET

31	421.228 ga	AED	421.262 ha	AET
30	.228 bha	AET	.262 ra	AETD
29	.228 kha	AET	.262 lo	AET
28	.228 sa	AET	.262 va	AET
27	.228 a	AED	.262 ka ill. 4	AED
26	.228 sam	AED		
25	.228 dhra	AET		
24	.228 cha	AED		

Sim adds for Hermaeus x.22, 88, 92, 270, 383, 395, 400; how many of these are AE I do not know. La adds 414.333, 342, 354, 374, 409-10; some may be other readings. Type 420 could be taken down to 20 BC prolonging Hermaeus, but that raises the question why Azilises should have to wait so long. He comes to the throne in 31, when Hermaeus is sending a last fruitless embassy to China. Azilises could have little fear of Parthia at this time.

85 There remain only the unimportant Stratos II & III. We originally took these coins as of Strato II issued for Strato I; the situation would be that Strato II just 16 at his father Menander II's death was appointed to a sub-kingship as eventual heir of his grandfather; he was sent up from the plains with an Indian entourage (as indicated by his having only 1 Gandhara mintmark (73) while the other coins have 1 or 2 Kharoṣṭhi letters; i.e. he used Indian moneyers, which would not make him popular — the barbarous style would indicate non-Greek moneyers. *Philopatōr* on the coins would be an appeal to the prestige of his grandfather that did not work. However neither MM nor La feel the coins can be placed so early, emphasizing the copying of the type by Rajuvula, which must put them rather late in the 1st century BC. This is supported by the lead and billon — we saw Hermaeus reduced to billon in 28. Also mark 251 is shared by Zōilus II and Apollophanes, and Menander II's son could not be brought down below 85, while Zōilus II only begins in 65, leaving a gap in that mintmark. We therefore begin Strato II in 41, after Zōilus. MM has the sequence Strato II middle-aged, old, old with Strato III, types 468, 469, 473; we rather suggest 469 Strato II old, 473 with Strato III, 468 Strato III who would drop *philopatōr*

on taking over sole rule and become *sōtēr*. The scheme would be e.g.

41	469.251		D AE		
40	.251	sa	D	470.x	te
39	.251	sa a bhi	D	.ga	te
38	.a	bhi	D	.ga hu	te
37	.ma	hu	D	471.ba spa	te
36	473.a	bhi	D	474.a spa	te
35	.ra	bhi	D	.o hu	te
34	.do		D	.vi ga	te
33	.mim		D	475.sa	d
32			D	.sti sa	d
31	468.vi	a	D	472.-	d
30	468.vi	a ram	D		
29	.251	am ra	D		
28	.250f	am ra	ill.10	D	
27	.250f	am dam	D		
26	.250f	a	ill.4	D	
25	.250f	ri va	" 7	D	
24	.252	ri va	" 8	D	

To which Strato types 470-2 belong is not clear. The .73 mark is mentioned by La but I cannot find it in either of his appendices or in MM, and it was last seen with Hermaeus in 48. The immediate successor of Strato III is Bhadrayaśas, who could be a son or brother of Strato III by an Indian mother. He seems to have been liquidated soon after Hermaeus by Azilises. We offer:

23	476.252	am da	D
22	.251	im da	D

86 There remains the question who are these Stratos? They are surely descendants of Strato I, but as his grandson was born c 121, he would be 80 on succeeding Zōilus II in 41, dying at 84. This is possible but not likely. Better then would be a nephew of that Strato, possibly a son of Philoxenus, born c 95-0 and a younger son born c 65 or a grandson c 50.

87 We may note that after 90 BC there are very few T in the eastern kingdoms; Nicias has 1, Apollodotus II only mints them after the fall of Maues and his occupation of Taxila. Hippostratus issues T, but Zōilus II, Apollophanes and Stratos II & III do not. We may also note the appearance of Kharoṣṭhi in the mint-marks. There is a brief appearance on Menander's posthumous copper, 148-4 a trial by the regent Agathocleia to retain native support? After this we must wait till Strato I's copper in 107 and once under Philoxenus in that year, also on copper. Apollodotus II really begins Kharoṣṭhi on copper, soon extending to silver. Maues' contemporary use is not surprising, but his only use on silver was on his last issue 69; otherwise he kept it for copper. Dionysius seems to keep Kharoṣṭhi for copper, but Zōilus II and his successors use it for both metals. Hippostratus also seems indifferent, but Hermaeus following his Greek revivalist lineage, does not use it in his prosperous days; it only appears in the years 36/5 and after. Azes might be expected to use Kharoṣṭhi in the beginning, but evidently Vonones did not.

88 We might also briefly note letter forms: they are only very general guides to chronology, far less helpful than had been hoped. Thus in our area Nicias has the rounded forms of omicron, omega and sigma on type 382, on 383 the rectangular, but his other letters are normal as are Maues' except for his Queen Machene's issue with square omicron, sigma, theta. Hippostratus uses square o & r on T, but normal letters otherwise on D & AE. Zōilus II uses both round and rectangular omega on the same coin. Hermaeus goes to square omicron but not sigma or omega with type 416. Spalyrises uses all three rectangular, Apollodotus II, Vonones. Apollophanes, Stratos II & III use normal, Miaus/Heraus has square omicron but normal s. West of our area these forms appear earlier, round s with Tanlismia dates, square omicron with Darius, Phraates III & Orodes.

ŚAKAS & PARTHIANS, 57 BC - 63 AD

89 We have now finished with Greek kings, and it might be useful to see if our scheme makes genealogical sense, I do not believe that anyone could usurp and make himself king if he commanded some soldiers. Short reigns do not prove violent death or army revolt; we must remember disease and life-expectancy. In Syria Seleucid blood was necessary for kingship, in Egypt Ptolemaic, and in Gandhāra, a Hellenistic kingdom, I suspect either Euthydemid or Eucratidean. I do not think we have a situation like 3rd century AD Rome — even these usurpers did not last long, and legitimacy got established. We have no direct evidence for filiation after Eucratides II & Menander II; but the ages of the actors are relevant to our understanding of their actions. We therefore offer the following as a rational approximation.

90 The filiation of Eucratides I - Heliocles - Eucratides II is clear. Plato we have taken as a brother of Heliocles, and Antialcidas can be made his son; we can take him as a son of Eucratides II left a minor so that Plato would take over to cover his minority. If Antialcidas was born c 128, this might better explain his friendship with Lysias, who would be 5-10 years older. Diomedes would then be his brother. All these use Dioscuri types. Archebius could be a younger son of Plato and can be father or grandfather of Amyntas — only Plato has his nose (MM 386 ill. & TMQ). Hermaeus was politically active by 58 (or on Tarn's interpretation 61), so he would be born c 85-2, Amyntas would be born 110-05, and Epander would be his older brother. We give a table:

	<i>born</i>	<i>ob</i>	<i>age</i>	<i>(figures approximate)</i>			
Eucratides I	c 210	154	56				
Heliocles	180	129	51				
Eucratides II	145	117	28				
Plato	175	111	64				
Antialcidas	150	95	55	or	128	95	33
Diomedes	140	91	49	or	125	91	34
Peucolaus	120	88	32				
Archebius	140/7	79	61/8	or	122	79	43
Epander	115	69	46	or	100	69	31
Amyntas	110	58	52	or	98	58	40
Hermaeus	85	24	61	or	78	24	54

Archebius could be taken as a 3rd brother of Antialcidas. On these figures we have an average life of 48.7 or possibly 45 years, reasonable expectations for that time. From Eucratides I we have 4 or 5 generations; if 4, from births 125 years average 31, if 5, average 24; if from deaths 130 years, average for 4 generations 32.5, for 5, 26, but Eucratides was killed with life expectation, and Hermaeus lived to be old.

91 We can now turn to the Euthydemids, again with much more possibility than certainty. We must work back to establish the generations, but first we give a table :

	<i>born</i>	<i>ob</i>	<i>age</i>
Euthydemus I	c 265/0	190	70-5
Demetrius I	220	168	52
Euthydemus II	201	174	27
Demetrius II	199	168	31
Antimachus I	218	168	50
Apollodotus I	215	167	48
Agathocleia	193-0	140	53-0

Strato I	158	100	58				
Menander II	139	105	34				
Polyxenus	115	90	25				
Antimachus II	190	150	40	or	190	144	46
Philoxenus	160	100	60				
Lysias	137	95	42				
Nicias	113	86	27				
Artemidorus	111	83	28				
Zōilus I	190	144	46				
(Apollodotus	165	x	x				
Zōilus	140	75	65)				
Apollodotus II	115	66	49				
Zōilus II	90	42	48				
Apollophanes	77	55	22				
Strato II	95	32	63				
Strato III	70	24	46				
Bhadrayaśas	65	22	43	or	50	22	28
Hippostratus	105	46	59				
Dionysius	88	62	26				

Omitting the non-ruling Apollodotus & Zōilus, we have 1052 years for 24 lives, average 42.5, and the span of 8 generations from Euthydemus I birth to Bhadrayaśas death 253 years, but average generation 28.3.

92 Hippostratus must be old enough to have a daughter of marriageable age for Hermaeus in 55; she should be born not after 73, so that Hippostratus cannot be born after 93, but we prefer to take him as a younger brother or cousin of Apollodotus II - the coins do not suggest a son. He could be a great grandson of Philoxenus, whose type he copies. Nicias and Artemidorus we suggest as sons of/connected with Lysias. Dionysius I suggest as a young brother of Zoilus II who got left or squeezed out of the inheritance; he does copy a type of

Apollodotus II. The family tree might be like:

<u>Euthydemus I</u>		<u>Apollodotus I</u>
<u>Demetrius I</u>	<u>Antimachus I</u>	
4 sons <u>Agathocleia m Menander</u> *		<u>Zoilus I Antimachus II</u>
* <u>Strato I Lysias d m Philoxenus</u>		<u>(Apollodotus)</u> *
<u>Menander II br Nicias Artemidorus</u>	<u>X?</u>	<u>(Zoilus)</u>
* <u>Polyxenus</u> *	<u>X?</u>	<u>Apollodotus II</u>
<u>Strato II</u>	<u>Hippostratus</u>	<u>Zōilus II Apollophanes</u>
<u>Strato III Bhadrayaśas</u>	<u>Calliope m Hermaeus</u>	

*= no issue.

Eucratides' line goes something like:

<u>Eucratides I</u>		
<u>Heliocles</u>	<u>Plato</u>	
<u>Eucratides II</u>	<u>Antialcidas</u>	<u>Archebius</u>
*	<u>Diomedes Peucolaus</u>	<u>Epander Amyntas</u>
	*	* <u>Hermaeus</u>
		<u>d m Mīaus/Heraus</u>
		<u>Kujula Kadphises</u>
		<u>Sōtēr Megās</u>
		<u>Wima Kadphises</u>

As indicated Antialcidas could be the son of Eucratides II and Amyntas of Epander

93 We can now come to Azes I. His AE mintmarks are remarkably rare, as are the lighter coins, 1 issue of X (6 coins) none of d. All are on the 2.42 gm standard, none on the 2.12. We offer:

54	749.66	260b	T			
53	.dhra	260b bha	T	747.-/186c	a	TD
52	.260a	bha	TD	.ha/186c	a	T
51	.260a	dhra	TD	.ma/186c	a	D



50	749.260a	mi dhra	T	.ga/186c	a	TD	
49	.260a	dra ill 11	T	.a/186c	a	TD	
48	.260a	ji	T	.va/186c	a	D	
47	.260a	vi	D	.sa/186c	a	TD	
46	.260a	de	D	750.sa/185a'	a	T	
45	.260a	da	TD	./185a'	a	TD	745.-/91a mam D
44	737.154b		TD	.ra/185a'	a	T	.ra/91a mam T
43	739.pri/343a	so	T	.pri/185a'	a	T	.pri/91a mamT
42	.pri/185a'	33c	TD	.pri/185a'	a	T	.ña/91a mam T
41	.sa/185a'	33c	D	.sa/185a'	a	T	.sa/91a mam T
40	.ga/185a'	33c	TD	.ga/185a'	a	TD	
39	.ra/185a'	33c	TD	.pra/185a'	a	T	
38	.so/185a'	33c	TD	.si/185a'	a	T	
37	.vi/185a'	33c	D	.e/185a'	a	T	
36	./185a'	33c	TD	./185a'	a	TD	
35	743.-/33c	mi	TD	743.-/126	sa	D	
34	./33c	sa mi	TD	./126	sa dhra	T	
33	./33c	bha mi	T	./126	bha dhra	TD	
32	./33c	bu mi	T	./126	şa dhra	D	Ha522 ill.6
31	./33c	dhra mi	T	./126	sam dhra	D	

Ha522 cerebral s; 745.na/palatal n. We have to add:

35	743.-/345a	si	D
34	.s/345a	si	TD
33	.dhra/345a	si	TD (1T 3D)
32	.sam/345a	si	T

Generally it seems that issues with Kharoṣṭhi letters on the obverse, e.g. Ha/186c a, have square o, those without, e.g. -/33c mi, have round. One could begin the type 737 in 57, differentiating ribbons, but the

type goes better with 739, and it is probably not good to have Azes coining independently immediately on promotion by his father in such measure as to overshadow him. We give a scheme for the copper, but it is clearly not definitive. Type 757 looks as if it belongs to Azes II, since he uses .228a elsewhere and I does not, and MM gives the preceding coin BMC174 to Azes II. We offer:

52	761.260a	AEH	
51	742.426d	X	

48	754.a 186a	AEK	
47	.186a a	AEK	
46	740.117a' IMC76	AEp	
45	.154c ill2	AEp	
44	740.154b	AEpX	
43	755.185a'a	AEp	
42	756.185'a	AEp	
41	758.185a'a	AEpt	

36	758.185a' 33c	AEp	
35	760.345a35	AEt	?757.B?/228a pi BMC175 AEp
34			? .B?/228a si BMC176 AEp

94 Azes I was always thought as reigning about 40 years, but MM has transferred PMC type 4 to Azes II, and Azes I does not take Hermaeus' mintmarks as he does Hippostratus'. Born c 80, he would be old enough to die about 50 in 30. As Spalirises associated his son, so Azes did his: MM's 25-year co-regency with Azilises is just not credible; filiation is much more easy and natural. We make Azes conquer Hippostratus in 46 and immediately issue with his marks; types 739 & 737? celebrate the conquest, perhaps a year delayed. Otherwise our order shows first Zeus, then Pallas; could 'city goddess' of 743 also be Pallas? Its type is the same as the joint issue with Azilises, so they

should be contiguous in time. The name of the senior king is in Greek on the obverse; thus we have for Azes I & Azilises:

31/30 764.-/33c dhra miT 764.126 sa T 764.x D

95 Evidently Azes dies within a year of issue, and for Azilises we offer:

30	801.33c	dhra mi	T	803.pa/345x	TD
29	.33c	ra mi	T	801.ra/345b	T
28	.33c	mi	TD	.dra 345b si	D
27	.33c	a	T	.phre/345b si	D
26	.33a	im	TD	.phre dhra/345b si	TD
25	.33a	ra	T	.phre ra/345b si	T
24	.33a	sam	D	.phre sam/345b si	T
23	801.33a	sa	D	.sam/345b si	TD
22	.33a	še	T	.sa/345b sa si	D
21	.33a	si	D	./345b sa si	TD
20	.33a	li	D	./345b li si	D
19	.33a	da ill.s 12-3	D	./345b dhra si	T
18	.33a	dhra	D	.di sam/345b si	T
17	.dhra		T	.di dhra/345b si	TD
16	.bha	dhra	T	.di sa/345b si	T
15	.ra	dhra	T	.di/345b si	T
14	.di	dhra/259b' śi	T	781.41c/spilla pa	TD
13	.di	dhra 278d/pa	T	783.345c/ra a	T
12	.di	sam 278d/pa	T	.345/ra a	TD
11	767.-/S	so	TD	.345/a ya	TD
10	.pri/S	so	TD	785.345/a ya	TD

Year 22 33a se serebral, year 14 259b' śi palatal

30	774.14d/pa am	T	801.126 dhra sam	T
29	.14d'/pa am	D	.126 ra sam	T
28	772.120a'/-	T	.126 bu sam	TD
27	.120a/-	TD	.126 bha sam	T
26	.120a/120a	D		
25	780.120a/-	D		
24	776.120a/-	TD		
23	.120a/X ill 2	T		
22	.66a/-	T		
21	.dhra 66a/ja im tsa ill 6	T		
20	.dhra 66a/ba im tsa " 5	T		
19	.dhra 91a/ba im tsa	T		
18	.ba91a/ba im tsa	T		
17	.15b 91a/ba im tsa ill 8	T		
16	.91a/ba di tsa ill 10	T		
15	.ma 91a/sam 66 tsa ill 14	T		
14	.367a/sam tsa	T		
13	.91a/sam tsa	T		
12	778.91a/misa	T	805.-/185a' a	TD
11	.91b/misa	TD	.ha/185a' a ill	TD

Round or square o seems to go with the mint; .345-345c, 33c, 120a. 91a-b show round, S & 185a' square. We continue AE:

30	787.x	AEp	788.x/x	AEX
29	789.120a/da mi	AEp	.x/ra	AEX
28	799.ra	AEp	795.?tha/ra	AEt
27	.14c'	AEp	.265b/ra ?spo	AEt

26	.67e	AEp	797.x	AEt
25	798.67e	AEp	796.66a dru/-	AEt
24	.66d	AEp	.x	AEt
23	.a pri/-	AEp	.pri/-	AEt
22	790.66b/misa	AEp		
21	.67e/misa	AEp		
20	791.91b misa	AEp	810.dhra	AEp
19	794.misa	AEx	.mi 33c	AEp
18	.244a	AEx	807.33c mi	AEp
17	793.x	AEpx	.41c mi	AEp
16			.33a	AEp
15			.345a si	AEp
14			809.345a si	AEX
13			812.345a si	AEt
12	771.S so	AEt	.dhra ra/345a si BMC23	AEt
11	770.S so	AEt	811.si 345a	AEt
10	769.S so	AEp	808.185a'a	AEp

We are again short of copper. Type 781 with 'city goddess' with wreath should acknowledge conquest of a city: Mathura? If Hermaeus' city, date in 23.

96 Azilises also associated his son Azes II; for joint reign we offer:

10	766.185a' a	T	AE	763.426/bu mi	AEp
09				.426/a di	AEp

97 With Azes II there is an explosion of coinage. In our first essay we got a neat scheme of 8 sequences of 26 years with 2 T each year. Things are no longer so easy, but we will offer:

09	825.sa/a	185a'	D	857.sa/S so	D
08	.ga/a	185a'	D	.mi/S so	D

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07	825.sam/a	185a'	D	.kam/S so	D
06	.so/a	185a'	D	.ña/S so	D
05	814.so/a	185a'	D	.sam/S so	D
04	.sam/a	185a'	D	.de/S 303f so	D
03	.ga/a	185a'	TD	.sam/S 67b so	D
02	.ga/a	117	T	.sa/S 67b so	D
-01	.si/a	117 ill.9D	TD	.sa/67b om dhra o	T
+01	./a	117	T	.mi/67b om dhra o	TD
02	.ha/a	117	D	.ku/67b om dhra o	D
03	.sa/a	117	D	.sa/67d sam	D
04	.pa/a	117	D	.ra/67d sam	D
05	.so/a	117	T	.kam/67d sam	D
06	so/33c	184b	D	.jham/67d sam	D
07	.la/33c	184b	D	.ma/67d sam	D
08	826.la/271c	227c	D	559.ma/67d sam	D
09	.ka/271c	227c	TD	.jha/67d sam	D
10	.di/271c	227c	D	.ha/67d sam	D
11	.ra/271c	227c	D	.ba/67d sam	D
12	.ra/271c	14c	D	.va/67d sam	D
13	.vi/271c	14c	D	.sa/67d sam	D
14	816.ka/228 bu		T	./67d sam	T
15	856.mi/228 271b dam		D	.x/67b sam PMC63	T
16	.mo/228 271b dam		D	.ma/67b sam BMC23	D
17	.sa/228 271b dam		D	870.mi/40c bu	T
18	.sa/228 271b dam		D	857.mi/40c bu	D
19				.bu/81a si	D

BC6 na palatal, AD 15-8 dam cerebral.

09	846.na/si 345a	D	857.dra/33c a	
08	.a/si 345a	D	.sa/33c a ksa	D
07	.e/si 345a	T	.kam/33c a dhra	D
06	.la/si 345a	D	.mim/33c a dhra	D
05	.la/272a 227a	TD	.m/33c a dhra	D
04	.di/272a 227a	TD	.sam/33c a dhra	D
03	.ga/272a 227a	T	.de/33c a dhra	D
02	.sa/272a 227a	D	.de/33c 374c a	D
-01	.si/272a 227a	T	.ba/33c 374c a	D
+01	.so/272a 227a	D	.bu/33c 374c am	D
02	.ra/272a 227a	D	.sa/33c 374c am	D
03	.ña/272a 227a	D	.de/33c 374c am	D
04	.ka/272a 227a	D	.ha/33c 374c am	D
05	.ṭha/272a 227a	D	.ṭa/33c 374c am	D
06	848.mu/272a 14c ill4	D	.la/33c ma ṭhu	D
07	.la/272a 14c ill3	D	.la/33c ma sa	D
08	.pa/227a 14c 426a	T	.ho/33c ma	D
09	.pra/227a 41b	T	.im/33c jem	D
10	.lam/227a 41b	T	.de/33c tsa BMC29	D
11	.im/227a 41b	T	859.de/33c sam	D
12	.ra/227a 41b	T	.sa/33c sam	D
13	.mim/227a 41b	T	.vi/33c sam	D
14	.ho/227a 41b	T	.ho/33c sam	D
15	.gam/227a 41b	T	.bu/33c sam	D
16	.di/227a 41b	T	.ṭhu/33c sam	D
17	.di/227a 33c	T	.la 33c sam	D

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18	848.do/345a sigo	T	859.cam/33c sam	D
19	.sa/345a sigo	T	.ji/33c sam	D

Year AD3 na palatal; AD5 tha/272 & ta/33c, thu 06 & 16 cerebral.

09	825.ha/saši, 272a	T	856.sam/228 a	D
08	.l̥tha/saši 272a	T	.am/228 a	D
07	.so/saši 272a	TD	.0/228 a	D
06	.la/saši 272a	TD	.sra/228 0 ra	T
05	.do/saši 272a	D	.sa/228 0 ra	T
04	.sa/saši 272a	D	.di/228 a ra	D
03	.sam/saši 272a	D	.G/228 a ra	D
02	.sam/saši 186c	D	.259a/228 a sa	D
-01	.ga/saši 186c	D	.14f/228 a sa ill 13	D
+01	.so/saši 186c	D	.14f/228 va sa	D
02	.la/saši 186c	D	.u/228 va pa	D
03	.mi/saši 186c	D	.mi/228 A va pa	D
04	.ha/saši 186c	D	.sa/228 A va pa	D
05	.ba/saši 185c	D	.dra/228 bhru na	D
06	846.ha/185c 126a	T	.dra/228 381 ram	D
07	.so/185c 126a	T	.mam/228 ra vi	D
08	.da/185c 126a	D	.r/228 ra vi ill 16	D
09	.mo/185c 126a	D	.gu/228 E vi ill 40	D
10	.de/185c 126a	D	.thu/228 E vi	D
11	.di/185c 126a	T	.thu/228 O sam	D
12	848.di/80c 230b va	T	871.mi/228 O sam	D
13	.im/80c 230b va	T	.mi/228 sam	D
14	.pra/80c 230b va	T	.214b/228 sam	D

15	848.pra/80c so	T	859.thu/228 O sam	D
16	.bu/80c so	T	.ji/228 D 15a a	D
17	gam/80c so	T	./228 D a	D
18	.sa/381 sa 227a	T	./228 D 349a	D

In saṣi the 2nd s is palatal; types 856, 859 thu cerebral

09	853.sam/228 426a	T	853.do/228 ra 512a'	T
08	.va/228 426a	T	./228 ra	D
07	.va/228a 426a	T	.a/228 ra	D
06	.ji/228a 426a	D	.si a/228 ra	D
05	.ji/231a 426a	T	.sa/228 ra	T
04	.ḍam/231a 426a	T	.a sa 228 ra	T
03	.jha/231a 426a	T	.a am/228 ra	T
02	.bum/231a 426a	T	.a ji/228 ra	T
-01	.bhu/231a 425a	T	.ji/228 ra	D
+01	858.ga/231a 426a	T	.sam/228 ra	D
02	.sa/231a 426a	T	.67b/228 ra	D
03	.sa/231b 426a	T	.gha/228 ra	T
04	.ji/230a 426a	T	.gha/228 426a ra	TD
05	.ḍam/230a 426a	T	.ji/228 426a ra	TD
06	.ḍam/228a 426a bu	T	.sa/228 426a ra	D
07	.ji/228a 426a bu	T	.sra/228 425a ra	D
08	.bi/228a 426a bu	T	.ga/228 426a ra	D
09	.be/228a 426a bu ill 11	T	.pra/228 426a ra	D
10	.sa/228a 425a bu	T	.me/228 426a ra	D
11	.sam/228a 426a bu	T	.ra/228 426a ra	T
12	.ga/228a 426a bu	T	.va/228 426a ra	T

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13	858.go/228a 425a bu	T	853.sam/228 426a ra	T
14	.jha/228a 227a 426a bu	D	.sam/228 426a vam	D
15	871.sa/227a 426a bu IMC13	T	.sra/228 426a a	D
16	.x/227a 426a bu	D	.pri/228 426a a	D
17	.la/227a 426a bu PMC61	T	859.pri/228 426a a	D
18	.lava/227a 426a bu IMC20	T	.ma/228 426a a	D
19	.x/227a 426a ba IMC14	T	.ta/228 426a 15a a	D

Year 05-6 dam & +19 ta cerebral. Also BC 4 dam

09	854.im/40c x BMC30	TD	854.jo/33c 447b gha sa	T
08	.mi/40c tha am	D	.pra/33c stra gha sa	T
07	.re/40c 374e bu	T	.pra/33c 447c gha sa	T
06	.ga/40c 374e dhra	T	.a/33c 447c gha sa	T
05	.ga/jha dhra	D	.sa/33c 447c gha sa	T
04	.da/40c 301b dhra	T	.ji/33c 447c gha sa	T
03	.ga/40c 301b a	T	.ji/33c 374a	T
02	.-/40c 374c a	D	.ji/33c 426b vi	T
-01	.sam/40c 374c dhra	D	.gi/33c 426b vi	T
+01	.de/40c mya dhra	D	.de/33c 426b vi	T
02	.ka/40c mya dhra	D	.sa/33c 426b vi	T
03	.sa/40c mya dhra	D	.sa/33b' 426n vi	T
04	.sa/40c x dhra BMC33-4	D	.kam/40e 426a di	D
05	.pra/40c A dhra	D	.mṣa hu bha/40b 374c 418b Sa	T
06	.kam/40c A dhra	D	.mṣa hu go/40b 374c 418b sa	T
07	.kam/40c 117c dhra	D	.mṣa hu ji/40b 374c 418b sa	T
08	.?se/40c 117c dhra	D	.mṣa hu ka/40b 374c 418b sa	T
09	.do/40c 117c dhra	D	.da/18b' de	TD

10	854.?spa/40c 117c dhra	D	854.sa/18b' de	T
11	.de/40c 117c dhra	D	.sram/18b' de	T
12	.de/40c 117c dhra	T	.520a/18b' the	T
13	.ji/40c 117c dhra	T	.hi/18b' the	D
14	.sam/40c 117c dhra	T	.hu/33a aga	D
15	.ho/40c 117c dhra	D	.i/33a aga	D
16	.sa/40c 117c dhra	D	.dam/33c aga	T
17	859.sa/40c 117c dhra	D	.dam/81a thum	T
18	.jhabh/40c 426a dhra	T	.dam/19 tham	T
19	.ji/67f 426a dhra BMC20	T	.bha/301b sam vi	T

Year -8 tha, year +05-8 msa, 12-3 the, 16-8 dam, 17-7 thum/ tham all cerebral.

09	828i.-/228 im am ill. 5	D	846.?jona/381 va 67f	T
08	.im/345a si	T	.jhabh/381 va 67f	T
07	.jham/345a si	T	.pra/318 va 67f	T
06	.go/345a si	T	.ra/381 va 67f	T
05	.jhabh/345a si	T	.ga/381 va 67f	T
04	.jha/345a si	T	.da/381 va 67f	T
03	.vi/345a si	T	.di/318 va 67f	T
02	.de/345a si	T	.di/271c 227c	T
-01	.sa/34a si	T	.ra/271c 227c	T
+01	.pra/345a si	T	.ka 271c 227c	T
02	ii.pra/345a si	T	.so/271c 227c	T
03	.e/345a si	T	.ha/271c 227c	T
04	.bu/345a si	T	.la/271c 227c	D
05	.si/345a si	T	.do/228a 259c sam	T

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06	828ii.sa/345a si	T	848.de/227 184b 227c ill 2	D
07	.he/345a do IMC7	D	.sa/14b 271c	T
08	.he/345a ra	D	.sa/271b 14c	T
09	./345a im	D	.de/271b 14c ill 2	D
10	836.-/sa' misa	D	.dhra 374c/271b 14c	T
11	./im bu	T	.dhra sa/271b 14c	T
12	858.bu/228 426a dhra	D	.va/271b 227 14c	T
13	.ba/228 426a dhra	D	.sa/271b 227 14c	T
14	.sa/228 426a dhra	D	.la/271b 227 14c	T
15	.sam/228 4236a dhra	T	.ra/184b 14a'	T
16	.jhabh/255d 526a dhra	T	.bu/244c' 184c	T
17	./227b' a O	T	.ha/244c' 184c	T
18	853.bu/227b'a	T	.ghi/244c' 184c	T
19			.sa/233c' 184c	T
+01	856.he/343d 374c am	D		
02	.de/227a 374c am	D		
03	.ma/227a 374c am	D		
04	.sa/227a 374c am	D		
05	855.mṣa hu gi/bu dra sa	T	mṣa cerebral	
06	.mṣa hu be/bu dra sa	T		
07	.msa hu ji/bu dra sa	T		
08	.msa ha ji/bu dra sa	T		
09	.tṣa ji/u dra dra sa	T		
10	.pra/bu dra dra sa	T		
11	.jim/bu dra dra sa	T		

98 Before going on to Azes' satraps we might take his copper. While I find for AR types with rājarāja (ignoring denominations) and 6 of rājādirāja, rājarāja has more mintmarks; on AE I find 12 -rāja to 14 of -ādirāja; evidently Azes returned to rājarāja on his later AE, types 769-71 & 807 up, but -ādirāja 787-99. We seem to be again short on copper, but offer unsatisfied and undogmatic our coordination of AE & AR.

09	865.-/?bu x	p			
08	.-/so va	p			
07	.-/ra	X	817.185b		AEX
06	861.a/228 ra	p	.185b a	ill.2	AEX
05	.di/228 ra	p	.a/185b a		AEp
04	.do/228 ra	p	.śi/185b a		AEp
03	.pra/228 ra	p	.śi/185b 33c		AEp
02	.pra/228 381 ra	p	.-/185b 33c		AEt
-01	.sti/228	p	.-/185b 14b	ill.5	AEp
+01	.va/228 ra	p	.a/185b 14b	ill.4	AEp
02	.go/228 ra	p	.a/117a		AEp
03	.gha/228 ra	p	.so/117a		AEp
04	.gha/228 426a ra	p	.x PMC289a		AEx
05	.bi/228 426a ra	p	.va/67a		AEp
06	.pra/228 426a ra	p	838.67a/228 bu		AEd
07	.ku/228 425a a	p	823.33c		AEhX
08	.ku/228/de	p	834.33c 271d		AEp
09	.x/228 bu IMC64	p	.14c/271b		AEp
10	.ka/33b de	p	.sa/271b 381		AEp
11	.-/33b de	p	.di/271b	ill.3	AEp
12	.vi/33b de	p	.ma/271b		AEp

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13	861.jhabh/18b' de	p	834.-/271b	AEpX
14	875.67a/343e ?tha	d	833.-/271b	AEp
15	.343f bu	d	.sa/271b ill.2	AEp
16	.502 66a/a	d	.bu/271b dhra ill.5	AEp
17	.-/mṣa sa	d	.mo/271b dhra ill 4	AEp
18	874.502 502/mṣa sa	d	.-/271b dhra	AEp

-Year 17 msa cerebral, -4-3 si palatal.

09	860.sa/81a dhra	AEd	850.228a/im	AEHX
08	.-/228 pa	AEpX	.a/228a	AEH
07	.-/228 ra	AEd	.si/345a ill.7	AEH
06	839.0/228 A ra	AEd	.si/345a	AEHX
05	.0/228 ba	AEd	.ki si/345a	AEH
04	.0/228 a	AEd	.si 272a/saṣi	AEH
03	.x/228 vam	AEd	.sa 272a/saṣi	AEH
02	.ṭhu/228 sam	AEd	.la 272a/saṣi	AEH
-01	.ṭhu/228 di	AEd	.ka 272a/saṣi	AEH
+01	.ṭhu/228 137d di	AEd	.a 272a/saṣi	AEH
02	.ḍam/228 G	AEd	.-272a/saṣi	AEH
03			.-272a/227a	AEH
04			.a 272a/227a	AEH
05			.vi 272a/227a	AEH
06	843.260c' ma/dram	AEp	.si 272a/227a	AEH
07	.227b' ra/259c	AEp	.272a/14c	AEt
08	842.227b' ra/259c a	AEp	.271b/14c	AEt
09	.227b' ra/260	AEp	.ra 271b/14c	AEH
10	.tsa 227b'/259c	AEp	.vi 271b/14c	AEH

11	844.tsa 227b/14f	AEp	850.jha 271b/14c	AEH
12	844.227b/14f	AEt	.-271c/227c	AEHt
13	.154d/14b ill.9	AEt	.pa 271c/227c	AEt
14	841.pra/-	AEt	.si 271c/227c	AEH
15	841.514 14c/-	AEp	.si 271e/227a	AEt
16	.514 14c/dhra	AEp		
17	.514 14c/di	AEp		
18	840.514/di	AEp		

Years -2-+1 thu, +2 dam cerebral, -7, +6 si & saṣi 2nd s palatal.

09	820.381/im	AET		
08	.381/si	AET	876.271a/345d	d
07	821.318/va i	AEd	864.-/67f dhra	t
06	831.-/saṣi 272a	AEpt	.-/14b saṣi	t
05	.si/saṣi 272a IMC58	AEp	.pra/14b de vi	t
04	817.phi/272a saṣi IMC33	AEp	.jham/91a sam	t
03	.a/272a saṣi	AEp	.ḍam/91a sam	t
02	.-/186c saṣi	AEpt	.ji/227a 426a bu	t
-01	.la/186c saṣi	AEp	.bu/227a 426a bu	t
+01	.spa/186c saṣi	AEp	.bu/228a 426a bu	t
02	.a/185c a	AEp	.pa/228a 426a bu	t
03	850.185c/126a	AEH	.pra/228a 426a bu	t
04	.vi 185c/126a	AEH	.ji/228a 426a bu	t
05	.sa 185c/126a	AEH	.ji/228c 426a bu	t
06	.33c/184b	AEt		
07	.ka 33c/184b	AEH		
08	ṣi 33c/184b	AEHX		

09	850.si 33c/184b	AEH		
10	.184b/14c	AEH		
11	.184b/saśa	AEH	869.pra/184b 500c ra	t
12	.184b/sram	AEHt	.271d pra/504d va	t
13	.si 184b/sram	AEH	.271d di/504d va	t
14	.vi 184b/sram	AEH	877.şega	X
15	.bu 184b/sram	AEH	878a.x	X
16	.ra 184b/sram	AEH	şega	X
17	.da 184b/sram	AEH	878b.şega	X
18	.si 184b/sram	AEHX	x	X
19	.ka 184b/sram	AEH		

Years -8, +18 si & sasi & sasa 2nd s palatal, dam, sega cerebral.

99 Azes II must die in AD 19, when Gondophar begins. We do not need to suppose a violent succession; Spalirises' family had been in the habit of associating the heir, presumably the eldest son. If Azes II did not do so, it is quite likely that he had no surviving son (who had none either), and Gondophar we suggest was a sister's son, which would make a strong genealogical claim. In support of a legitimate accession we note that Gondophar does not seem to overstrike Azes II's coins. Azes II has his satraps in Mathura; Parthia seems to have been quiet as its king was reasonably insecure, and the other possible source of trouble, Kujula Kadphises had to consolidate his position in Tadjikistan. Flourishing trade must account for the outburst of coinage, but there also seems to be some inflation, for the metal gets debased; we also wonder if the light standard 2.12 grams of AE is also an inflationary sign, but it seems to continue throughout the reign in one area of the empire.

100 With Strato's loss of Mathura in 100 there are c 65 years of -mitra kings, during which strong art influences from Bodh Gaya and Magadha can arrive. Maues never got to Mathura, but we believe Azes I did, and Hagana and Hagamasha are satraps for him and Azilises.

Gondophar did not rule Mathura, and there is time for 4 satraps we may first take Kharaosta; whose is he? Soḍāsa, son of Rajuvula is Mahākṣatrapa in AD 15, but only Kṣatrapa on the lion capital. He should be born c 15 BC; his father Rajuvula c 40, but his mother Ayasis Kamuya c 35, and her father Kharaosta c 60, and his father Artā (-) c 80. Kharaosta should then be (mainly) Azilises' satrap, but as Azes II continues his final monogram ṣeḡaṣa, we suggest he died in BC 9, his last coinage year being 10, when he would be about 50. That he is yuvarāja on the capital may be explained by his not having an appointment when his daughter was married. We offer a very tentative scheme:

18	891.ya pri bD			
17	892.ya pri bD	AE		
16			887.pri/-513a X	AEt
15			.sam/513a X	AEt
14			.sam/sam 513a	X AEt
13	da cerebral		.ḍa/- 513a X	AEt
12	" "		.ḍa/sa 513a X	AEt
11			.pra/sa 513a X	AEt
10			888.502/sa ṣeḡaṣa	AEX
09	873.502/dhra ṣeḡaṣa 512a'	T	Azes II takes over	
08	.502/dhra ṣeḡaṣa	T		
07	.502/ju ṣeḡaṣa	T		
06	.502/ba ṣaḡaṣe	T		
05	.502/ha ṣamḡaṣe	T		
04	899.S ha	bD	890.-	AEX
03	894.33c gha sa Rajuvula	bD	907.svastika	AEt
02	903.vi śa palatal s	bD		
-01	.ḍa śa " s	bD	905.mṣa/ḍa śa	AEt
+01	.ḍa śa " s	bD	x	AEt
02	904.ha 250f bu	bD		

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03	902.ha 250f va	bD		
04	.sti 250f hu	bD		
05	.sti hu	bD		
06	.ha hu	bD		
07	901.gu a	bD	906.sa	pPL
08			.dhra ma	pPL

Presumably Rajuvula dies late 40s and Soḍāsa is Mahākṣatrapa. ṣeḡaṣa, ṣaḡase, ṣaṃḡaṣe and msa all s cerebral, so too da in types 887, 903. 905; sa in 903 and 905 palatal.

101 Azes uses 33c (447c) gha sa till BC 4; I suggest he sends out his 'technical adviser' to Rajuvula to set up his coinage in BC 3. This could also be taken as a token of loyalty on promotion to Mathura. In Mathura, being outside the Greek coinage area yearly differentiation is not to be expected. Type 906 is difficult as Rajuvula's, being lead, and not *apratihatacakrasa* but *dhramiasa*; does this mean a Buddhist? could it be Soḍāsa's? Azilises' 791 has the same types (changing sides) and one might look for one of his satraps following Bhadrayaśas, years 20-19. It is on the light standard, but Azes does use that.

102 We continue with Azes II and his satraps, first with Indravarman, offering:

10	868.sam/500b ku 33d 512a	bT	Azes II
09	.sam/500b i 512a	bT	
08	.a bu/500b i 33d 512a	bT	
07	.tejila/500b dha 33d 512a	bT	
06	.tejila/500b va 33d 512a	bT	
05	.a/500b 33d 418b 512a	bT	
04	.bha/500b va 418b 512a	bT	
03	897.bha/500b va 33d' 512a	bT	Indravarman for Azes II
02	.ca bha/500b ḍa 33d 512a	bT	

-01	897.cam bha/500b ji 33d 512a	bT
+01	.si/500b mṣa 33d 512a	bT mṣa s cerebral
02	.-/500b mṣa 33d 512a	bT
03	.503/500b vi 33d 512a	bT
04	.418c/500b ka 33d 512a	bT
05	.512a bhu/500b sa 33d	bT
06	867.137b vi/500c sam 33c	T Azes II base silver
07	.am/500c sam 33c BMC104	T
08	.pra/500c ra 33c am	T
09	.bhu/500c dha 33c a	T
08	.lam/500c dha 33c a	T
09	.a/500c 33c a	T
10	.am/500c 33c a	T
11	.om/500c 33c a	T
12	.va/500c 33c a	T
13	.137d vi/500c 33c a	T
14	.va sa/500c 33c a	T
15	.va/500c 33c a	T
16	.om/500c 33c a	T
17	.500b/500c 33c a	T
18	.504c/504c 33c a	T
19	.504d/500c 33c a	T

103 Indravarman is shown by an inscription to have been alive in AD 5/6, and we have him coining in 05. He must have been willing to assimilate, to judge by his son's name Aspavarman, uncle of Sassan, Gondophar's sub-king. If Aspavarman is a satrap in BC 1, he should be born 30 and Indravarman about 55, so he would be about 60 at death, and his father Vijayamitra would be born c 80. We suspect he

was a Śuṅga prince of some kind without prospects on the overthrow of the dynasty in Magadha, who gave his son a good brahman name. Either he or his son (with fewer prospects) takes service with Azes I/Azilises, who gives him his daughter/sister in marriage — if father and son are satraps we would expect a not too dangerous relationship with Azes II. Aspavarman would have been much the same generation as Azes II, a cousin. Gondophar would be a nephew of Azes II and 1st cousin once removed of Aspavarman whom he can continue as satrap, thus:

20	1136.503 bu/33d a 500b 510 śi	bT
21	.503 bu/33d śi a 500b 510	bT
22	.503 bu 500b/33d śi a 500b 510	bT
23	.503 bu 503/33d śi a 500b 510	bT

si all palatal.

104 We return to Aspavarman's beginnings; he can hardly begin coining as satrap before his father, so we begin him in BC 1; thus:

-01	898.va/500b 33d'	bT
+01	.age/500b 33d	bT
02	.age dha/500b 33d	bT
03	.age dha/500b jha 512a 33d ill.7	bT
04	.age dha/500b da 512a 33d BM(MM)	bT da cerebral
05	.age/500b sa 512a 33d IMC14	bT
06	.age/500b jham 512a 33d	ill.8 bT
07	.age/500b da 512a 33d	" 27 bT
08	.age/500b mi 512a 33d	" 17 bT
09	.age/500b kra 512a 33d	" 28 bT
10	.age/500b gra 512a 33d (PMC ga)	bT
11	.age/500b bha 512a 33d PMC314	bT
12	.age/500b sa 512a 33d	ill.s 24-6 bT sa cerebral

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13	898.age/500b bu 512a 33d	" 23	bT
14	.age x/500b sam 512a 33d IMC4		bT
15	.age e/500b mi 512a 33d IMC7		bT
16	.age gu/500b jha 512a 33d	ill.6	bT
17	.age bu/500b bu ?512a' 33d si	ill.2	bT si palatal
18	.age ra/500b ba 512a 33d	ill.33	bT
19	.age N/500b sa 512a 33d'	" 32	bT
+01	898.age 500d/500b 512a 33d	ill.5	bT
02	.age 504c/500b 512a 33d		bT
03	.age 501/500b 512a 33d		bT
04	.age 501/500b kha 512a 33d IMC24		bT
05	.age 501/500b mo 512a 33d	ill.15	bT
06	.age 501/500b jham 512a 33d	" 9	bT
07	.age 501/500b da 512a 33d	" 20	bT
08	.age 501/500b mi 512a 33d	" 16	bT
09	.age 501/500b ɖa 512a 33d	" 10&12	bT da cerebral
10	.age 504d'/500b ɖa 512a 33d IMC5		bT da cerebral
11	.age 504d'/500b da 512a 33d	ill.29	bT
12	.age 504d'/500b sa 512a 33d	" 22	bT
13	.age 504c/500b a 512a 33d		bT
14	.age 504c/500b ʃi 512a 33d IMC10, 19		bT si palatal
15	.age 504d/500b mo 512a 33d	ill.14	bT
16	.age 504f/500b mo 512a 33d	" 13	bT
17	.age 504f/500b ɖa 512a 33d	" 11	bT da cerebral
18	.age 504f/500b da 512a 33d	" 19	bT
19	.age 504/500b N 512a 33d'	" 31	bT

We have Azes use 137d in AD 13, and it may be better to have him shed some responsibility and give Aspavarman a 3rd series thus:

14	898.137d	vi	500d/500b	bu	33d	ill.1	bT	
15	.?137d	vi/500b	bu	512a	33d	IMC6	bT	
16	.137d	vi	bo/500b	am	512a	33d	ill.21	bT
17	.137d	vi/500b	mi	512a	33d	ill.18	bT	
18	.137d	vi/500b	na	512a'	33d	ill.4	bT	
19	.137d	vi/500b	mo	33d	ill.3	bT		

105 We now come to Gondophar himself. His family and satraps are complicated. I suspect Sassan is his wife's nephew as well as Aspavarman's — if his own he might rather say so. As Aspavarman's he would be born 5-1 BC. Gondophar's name disappears on his final type, and he is *apratīcakra* instead of *devavrata* (quite as possibly 'loyal to the *deva*, (Gondophar) as a claim of general piety). Sassan evidently outlived Gondophar and aimed at supreme power. It might be as well to offer a scheme for him first, following on Aspavarman. On his first issue in 23 the legend looks early; he is introducing himself as legitimate to his new subjects, "son of the brother of Aspavarman, your late ruler" The Indravarman issue under Gondophar would also be part of this propagandistic justification, as Sassan is descended from him. Indravarman's title was indisputable, so Sassan's is as his heir. The coin is 1135.500b/vi 41c bD. We offer:

23	1104.-/bham	bD	1104.503/bu	bD
24	1125.503 si/228d 426a va	bT	1135.500b/vi 41c	bD
25	.503 i/228d 426a va	bT		
26	.503 im/228d 426a va	bT		
27	.503 ma/228d 426a va	bT		
28	.503 va/228d 426a va	bT		
29	.503 ra/228d 425a va	bT		
30	.503 ji/228d 426a va	bT		
31	.503 500d/228d 426a va	bT		
32	.503 tha/228d 426a va	bT	32 & 46 tha cerebral	
33	.503 bu/228d 426a va	bT		

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34	1125.503 pa/228a 426a va	bT	1139.la/500b va	bD
35	.503 pa/228a 426a va	bT	.di/500b sam	bD
36	.503 -/228a 426a va	bT		
37	1138.503 a pa/im 145d 14c'	pa 500b the	ill.1 bT the cerebral	
38	.503 mo/im 145d 14c' pa 500b the	" 2 bT	" "	
39	.503 rtu/im 145d 14c' pa 500b the	" 3 bT	" "	
40	.503 me/G 500b	bT		
41	.503 -/va pa 500b B	bT		
42	.503 ka/va pa 500b B	bT		
43	.503 am/va pa 500b A	ills.14-5bT		
44	.503 bu/va pa 500b L	bT		
45	.503 bu/va pa 500b M	bT		
46	.503 tha/va pa 500b N	bT		
47	.503 ga/va pa 500b N	bT		
48	.503 ga pa/va pa 500b T	bT		
49	.503 di pa/va pa 500b T	ill.20 bT		
50	.503 T/va pa 500b da	" 27 bT		
51	.503 T/va pa 500b la	" 21 bT		
52	1137.503 500b/33d pra 500b 510 si	ill 2bT 53-2 si palatal		
53	.503 pu/33d p [ra 500b si	" ?3 bT		

The marks of 1137 will certainly go with Aspavarman's 1136, but the titles will not. We give a scheme for it:

37	1138.503 a pa/im 185 OOb the	bT
38	.503 500b/im 227a 500b tha	bT
39	.503 gu/im 227a 500b the	bT
40	.503 dha/va pa 500b da	PMC16 bT
41	.503 ga/va pa 500b da	PMC10 bT

42	1138.503 a/va pa 500b ḍa PMC17	bT
43	.503 dra/va pa 500b ḍa PMC18	bT
44	.503 tha/va pa 500b ḍa	bT
45	.503 tha/va pa 500b ja	bT
46	.503 gha sa/va pa 500b ja PMC 13	bT
47	.503 go/va pa 500b ja	bT
48	.503 go/va pa 500b 7	bT
49	.503 si/va pa 500b 33c	bT
50	.503 ko/va pa 500b na ill.36	bT
51	.503 bu/va pa 500b ḍha	bT

.503 ga ra/.. is also ill.33. Years 37-39 the, 40-4 da, 44-5 tha, 40 & 51 dha all cerebral

106 Sassan does not have an AD of 3.7 gm like Orthagnes. His extra coinage from 37 follows on the elimination of Zeionises/Jihonika. His date of 191 has him living in AD 34 - 134 is surely too late. He should not be Gondophar's satrap if he overstrikes his coin, though he might have revolted - either way Gondophar's nephew should suppress him. The overstrike could be explained by his being Kujula's satrap; his appearance in AD 20/1 could be connected with the death of Azes II. His father was *mahārājabhrātā*; if this is literal, we would suggest rather Azilises' brother than Azes II's. We offer for Zeionises:

21	881.500b ma ?137d/mṣa 511	ill.13	T
22	.500b ya a/mṣa 511	" 9	T
23	.500b yaṣi/mṣa 511	" 3	T
24	.500b dha de/mṣa 511	" 12	T
25	.500b S ?sa di/mṣa 511	" 11	T
26	.500b ka bha/mṣa 511	" 5	T
27	.500b da ?ba/mṣa 511	" 4	T
28	.500b ?ha be va ?ba/mṣa 511	" 8	T

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29	881.500b 448a tha (381)/mṣa 511	ill.10	T
30	.500b tha ?the/mṣa 511`	" 1	T
31	.500b tha sa ?ya/mṣa 511`	" 2	T
32	.500b va sa/mṣa 511`	" 6	T
33	.500b 448 bra ?mova/mṣa 511 `	" 7	T
34	.500b/mṣa 511		T
35	879.500b mṣa		T
36	880.500b va datra		T
AE			
21	883.500b rtu/mṣa dhra		P
22	.500b pu/mṣa dhra		P
23	.500b pu mṣa ma		P
24	.500b pu/mṣa im		P
25	.500b sam/mṣa im		P
26	.500b pu/mṣa 511		P
27	.500b bu/mṣa 511		P
28	.500b vam/mṣa 511		P
29	.500b ?rto mṣa 511		P
30	.500b sa/mṣa 511		pX
31	.500b sa hi/mṣa 511	ill.2	P
32	.500b sa sa/mṣa 511	" 6	P
33	.500b sa va/mṣa 511		P
34	885.500b/hu		X
35	.x/x		X
36	886.- (as Mahākṣatrapal)		d

msa cerebral s; yasi palatal.

The fact that we can offer such a scheme supports the early date, as

such schemes cannot be made for *Sōtēr Megas* or *Wima*.

Kaniṣka's era would be used by 134 (year 6/7). For type 880 (879, 881) I cannot match MM's marks with his photos, but we have several question marks. He has 13 ill. for 14 marks, and our own result is much the same. Zeionises' date 191 is nicely accommodated as Old Śaka (Menander's) era. Evidently his attempt to expand and conquer did not prosper. We should note he did not use Gondophar's 503 mark.

107 We may now take Gondophar himself. We would like to know what he meant by *Devavrata* on his late issues. AE is too fragmentary to be of any use. For AR (debased silver) we offer :

20	1080.503/?bha 97	T			
21	.503/la 97	T			
22	1128.503/228a ma misram	T	AE	1182.-	AET
23	1129.503/228a phre	T		1183.-	AET
24	.503/228a phre ra ill.3	T			
25	.503/228a phre vam " 2	T			
26	.503/228a phre bu	T			
27	.503/228a phre A bu	T		1113.bu	t
28	.503/228a phre B bu	T		1114.bu 504	t
29	.503/230b' phre bu	T		1115.bu 504 sam	t
30	.503 230b' phre	T			
31	1134.503/ra bu 40c	T		1084.-	AET
32	.503/ra bu 40c 426a	T		1087.-	AET
33	1116.503 510d/343c 510d	T			
34	.503/343c 510d	T			
35	.503/343c dha 510d	T			
36	.503 dha/343c 510d	T			
37	.503 sam/343c 510d	T			
38	1112.503 sam/512 gu	T			
39	.503 bu/512 gu ill.2	T		1085.-	AET

40	1112.503 si bu/512 gu " 1	Γ	AR	
41	.503 ku tha/512 rtu gu	T	tha cerebral	
42	.503 ku/512 la gu ill.4	T	1070.-	AD
43	.503/512 la gu	T	1067.-	AD
44	.503/512 gu 500b	T	1068a.-	AD
45	.503/512 500b gu	T	1068b.-	AD
46	.503 ke/512 500b gu BMC9	T	1069.-	AD
47	.503 be/512 500b gu 511	T	1071a.-	AD
48	.503 511/512 505 gu 511	T	1071b.-	AD

The AE we have placed in accordance with the letter forms omega and phi; type 1116 has square both os and phi, while 1112 and 1129 have them round, like 1080 the horse-shoe omega. Attic drachmae seem to have changed to 3.7 gms; clearly those cannot be fixed, but as Orthagnes has 3 similar issues we have put them late. Presumably the Attic standard is for trade with the West; Parthia had its troubles with claims to kingship and was at peace with Rome, so the overland merchants may have been fairly prosperous.

108 We may now take Orthagnes. He is Gondophar's brother, likely a third brother, and like Sassan goes on to higher titles. He too is connected with St. Thomas, and so should be around 40-50 AD. He does not seem to mint silver till Gondophar's death, which our scheme put in 48, in agreement with the Takht-i-bahi inscription (alive 46, born about BC 10, and Orthagnes maybe 10 years later). It appears Gondophar did not have a son, with the result that while alive head of the family he could use his (close) kin effectively, there is disorder on his death, and Sassan, Otanes, Orthagnes and Abdagases all compete. For Orthagnes we offer :

30	1072.503/maR	te
31	.503/maL	te
32	1094.maR	te
33	.maL	te
34	1095.-	te

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35		1096.gam ja	te
36		.ma bu	te
37	d cerebral	1096.ma ḍam	te
38		.go o ill.4	te
39		.go di ri " 12 BMC1	te
40		.gu di ri " 13 BMC2	te
41		.gu di	te
42		.gu sa	te
43		.gu sa 228a	te
44		.gu la (Br, or ?mo)	te
45		.gu ma	te
46		.gu	te
47		1097.126 * .gu	te
48	d cerebral	.126 */gu ḍam	te
49	1073.-AD	1099.gu	te
50	1074.-AD	.	te
51	1075.-AD	1098.ma mi	te

109 Orthagnes is succeeded briefly by his son Otanes II, for whom we have only :

52 1076.- AD

110 Apparently Abdagases, to whom we now turn removed him. As he was Gondophar's nephew and mints AR from his beginning, I put him as son of an older brother than Orthagnes. We offer his scheme:

39	1117.503/238a 303f' pra	T
40	.503/238d' 303f' a	T
41	.503/238d' 303f' no	T
42	.503/238d' 303f' bu	T
43	.503/238d' 303f' -	T

44	1117.503/238d' 303f' ?ñi	ill.5	T		
45	.503.238d' 303f' ?se	" 6	T		
46	1118.503/238d' 303f' pu		T		
47	1131.503/228a phre ra		bT		
48	1120.503/244d' phre sa		T		
49	1119.503/244d' phre sa		T		
50	1121.503/244d' phre sam		T		
51	.503/244d' sam		T		
52	.503/244d' sam sam		T		
53	.503/244d' sam pra		T	1106.503/bhu	D
54	.503/244d' sam bu		T	1107.503/bhu	D
55	.503/228a 426a bu		T	1140.503/33d va sam	bD
56	1126.503 bu/228a 426a va	ill.6	bT		
57	.503 ba/228a 426a va	" 3	bT		
58	.503 sim/228a 426a va		bT		
59	.503 ma/228a 426a va		bT		
60	.503 si/228a 426a va		bT		
61	.503 na/228a 426a va		bT		
62	.503 ?N/228a 426a va	ill/10	bT		
63	.503 mā/228a 426a va		bT		

Year 44 ni & 60 si palatal, year 63 ma long a.

47	1131.503/228a kre kra		bT		
48	1122.503 244d' kre kra		T		
49	1132.503 na/240a 510e kre kra		bT		
50	.503 &a/240a 510e kre kra		bT	sa cerebral	
51	.503 bha/240a 510e kre kra		bT		
52	.503 bu.33d 510e kre kra		bT		
53	.503 sa/33d 510e kre kra		bT	1077.av/442b	AD

54	1132.503	dra/33d 510e kre kra	bT	(3.7 gms)
55	.503	jha/33d 510e kre kra	bT	
56	.503	gu/33d 510e kre kra	bT	
57	.503	gu/33d 510e B kra kra	bT	
58	.503	a/33d 5103 kre kra	bT	
59	.503	a/500b ra dra pra BMC5	ill.1	bT
60	.503	stra/500b va dra pra	" 3	bT
61	.503	pra/vra 500b va dra	" 2	bT
62	.503	pra/vra 500b va dra bra ha	ill.4	bT

We may add after 48, bearing the royal title

AE	1088.-	te
	.dha,	te
	1089.-	te
	1090.-	te
	1091.-	te
	1092.-	te (later copy?)

111 In view of the Panjtar inscription the reign should end in 63 when Sōtēr Megas reconquered Taxila for the Kuṣāṇas. We originally ended Abdagases early, which involved beginning him early, but we must consider ages. He was Gondophar's brother's son, and in view of the long persistence of this information on his coinage we must suppose it was important for his prestige and claim. Gondophar is not likely to have been born before 15 BC; the brother in question might be born in 10 BC, but then he could not have a son old enough to rule in AD 20. We suggest Abdagases was born c AD 15, and in 40 he would have been old enough to be promoted (?by his father) with Gondophar's blessing, the importance of which is emphasized in the titulary of types 1117-18, *adelphideos* and 1119. Gondophar's disappearance from the Greek titulary I take to follow on his death in 48. Abdagases' coinage is clearly too large to permit a short and insignificant reign; his legend inserts *basileuontos* after 48; whether this still has the refinement of

acting as king' as against *basileos* (being) King, one cannot say, but many now doubt. It is unlikely that Orthagnes was his father, though he might have been willing to serve his son as Vistaspa did Darius. There are too many Great Kings of Kings around in the 50s; maybe everyone was trying for supremacy. We again wonder what Gondophar's *devavrata* means; it can hardly indicate a Zoroastrian or a Buddhist; a Mazdean worshipping Ardivi Sura Anahita & Mithra etc. is perhaps best.

112 We should now take Kujula Kadphises, but he presents many problems. He was an important person for over 60 years, but there is no question of producing an annual coinage for him - indeed it might be improper to expect it from a Kuṣāṇa. He seems to have no silver, which demands an explanation. What silver there is since 30 BC is of poor quality, and either the metal must have been going elsewhere, or possibly the known mines were nearing exhaustion. Type 1044 (STEROSSU ERMAIOU) is overstruck (once) on Gondophar's bust/Nike type, but which (1082-5) MM does not indicate, so it cannot be placed in any fixed year of his reign. Type 1052.- with its not very Greek alphabet may be earliest, but perhaps 1054 imitating Azes II's 861 c 1 BC/AD, thus:

1054.ra	X
.pu pa	X
x	X

On this type Kujula is "standing in the true law"; he should then be pro-Buddhist. This continues without the "true" on types 1061- (5 issues). 1062 seems to be te. These are on the light weight, used by Zeionises, but 1061 like 1052 (AEd) is on the heavy AET. MM takes these two as copies of 1049-50. We have

1050.-	AET
.dha BMC1 plXXV	AET
.dhra BMC3 plXXV4	AET
.bu i	AET
1049.bu o	AET
137b' ill.5	AET

113 Next come the Hermaeus coins, which I take as propaganda coins when Kujula is preparing for his Indian conquest. 1046-8 do not name Kujula, 1044 does. (1045 seems a not very good copy of 1044). We might suggest :

49		1048.260	AEX
50	1046.6b	260 pra AEHd .260 pra	AEX
51	1044.- ill.1	straight ribbon	AET
52	- " 2	twisted ribbon	AET

With type 1055 Kujula becomes *devaputra* & *rājātirāja*; if his propaganda should be after Gondophar's death, his title should be after Sassan's. We therefore offer:

53	1057.500b	516/pa kasu	pX	1058.500b	511/511d	t
54	1055.500b	pu/cam	p	1059.500b	na/?kru	t
55	.500b	pu/go a sa	p	1055.500b	bu/?ha 511`	P
56	.500b	pu/eṭha ji	p	.500b	bu/?bha ji	P
57	.500b	pu/ku dha	p	1056.500b	bu/ku ?cam	P
58	.500b	pu/?gatha dha ca p		.500b	bu/ya rtu	P

Year 56 etha cerebral.

The Kuṣāṇas 'lost' India, and this allows Abdagases to use the mark 500b in 60-3, supporting our dates for him. We thus give Kujula dates 31/0 BC-AD 58, having him die at the age of 88-Mahāpadma Nanda also lived to that age, and Tadjikistan is healthier than Magadha.

114 We are inclined to separate Soter Megas Vaseṣka from Soter Megas unnamed, as we would not expect the name to be dropped from later issues. Vaseṣka would be over 50, even 60 when his father died, and might well then die within 3 years; we therefore offer:

58	1147.520/vi	flower in pot	ill.1	bT
59	.520/vo	" " " 2	bT	(59-60 possible)

115 In 1980 Sir Harold Bailey published the inscription of Senavarman(n), a descendant? of Aspa- & Indra-varman, which name

Sadashkana as devaputra, son of Kujula; we would like to take him as the common Soter Megas, born c 15 AD, which would leave him about 70 when he died. He conquers Taxila in 63, when Wima Kadphises was born; as first son after his father wins an imperial status he has a claim to the throne, and at coming of age at 16 (our 15) in 78 is made colleague of his father, i.e. the Śaka era commemorates the accession of Wima Kadphises who counts from his collegiality as did Egyptian Pharaohs. It is taken south by the conquest of Mathura and subsequent conquest for him by Ysamotika/Castana, and resuscitated by Rudradaman on his severance from the Great Kushans in AD 150.

116 Another reconstruction can be made for Sadashkana thus. Born 05-1 BC he was an old man on succeeding to his father and does not appear in the coinage. Vaseška's coins are barred by the fabric from belonging to Kaniška's successor. In this case we could allow him to be the usual Soter Megas b. AD 15. The Vaseška of the Kamra inscription would be his grandson (he merely claims to be of the family of Kujula) born c 60-5. He is then the father of Kaniška on the Ara inscription, but why Kaniška's birth in 102/3 should be celebrated is not clear; it may be significant that the year used is Azes(I)'s, not Wima's. But by the time of the Ara inscription of 41, (119 AD) submission has been made and Wima's era used. In the year 119/20 Kaniška would be of age, but not ready to revolt against Wima, whose era he uses (avoiding the suspicion of disloyalty). This reconstruction does not affect Wima's birth in 63, or his being the son of *Sōtēr Megas*. Kaniška could be a grand-nephew of Wima. There is no reason against the great Kaniška dying aged 47-8 in 150—there are plenty precedents, including Candragupta Maurya. We suggest that his successor Vasiška is his son, named after grandfather, succeeded by a brother.

117 *Sōtēr Megas* was not without his troubles. Pacores overstrikes his coinage. We need not take him as Pacorus II of Parthia, whose reign is at the end of *Sōtēr Megas* (78-105), and as *Sōtēr* cannot be given a yearly discrimination using letter or sign marks, Pacores must come early in his reign. Kujula was using pu, and the ga of 1102 is very like what MM prints as gaṭha/eṭha (with pu) in 55, where I cannot see the downward continuation. Soter would certainly be in charge after Vaseška's (?Sadashkana's) death, at least from 60, and as he had to

reconquer, there would be years of struggle, giving Pacores opportunity to overstrike. We therefore begin Pacores in 59 after Vaseṣka, and offer:

59	1102.pu	ga		te
60	1103.pu	rom	BMC1 plXXIII8	ill.s 5,11 te
61	.pu	ro		ill.s 1 & 9 te
62	.pu	do	" 9	te
63	.vi	dre		te

Soter's conquest of Taxila in 63 might well have enabled him to crush Pacores also in that year.

118 We stop here since the kind of schemes we have made is impossible for Sōtēr Megasthenes. We do not doubt but that our schemes and sequences can be improved, without adding or subtracting years, though that might occur occasionally; but we do not think the work should be dismissed out of hand because I am not a specialized numismatist and try a new method. The basic claim is that we make historical sense, and give proper value to Indian evidence, e.g. in arguing for Tarn's reconstruction of Demetrius I's campaign we should add Patañjali's evidence: the Greeks besieged Śāketa. Śālīśūka is powerful till 200 BC and Demetrius cannot be deep in India as crown prince — the Mauryas are in control till 185/4. Menander in a 10-year reign has not time to attack east; he is recovering NW, and under Agnimitra the Śuṅgas are still coherent. Nor is there evidence that Maues ruled Mathura if we translate Yavana as Śaka in the Hathigumpha inscription. Azes I did set his satrap up in Mathura, but this is beyond the generally agreed time of Patañjali. In fact Khāravela's mention of Yavanas makes perfect sense taken with Demetrius' campaign and retreat to face Eucratides. Khāravela demonstrated to the north (Pāṭaliputra) in 168 when a Yavana Greek king was there to retire from it, and to place him in 10 BC or AD on the low date for Śātakarṇi as king of Magadha which he never was, puts his actions in a vacuum, when on our dating there is good context that makes historical sense for everyone. The Śuṅgas seem to have had some trouble repulsing Khāravela, but after 163 he disappears from history, quite probably dying quite young soon thereafter.

APPENDIX I

119 There may be some lessons of administration of the mints to be learnt from the marks, which numismatists will deduce better than I can; I merely hope to bring forward some facts I have noticed for more capable study. Thus while Greek letters are used early, Kharoṣṭhi letters seem to indicate decline of Hellenism and to come in with Apollodotus II, AR & AE, 85, soon followed by Maues, and to appear more on copper first. Menander posthumous has 3, Strato I final issue 3, Philoxenus 1, all on AE. Epander, Amyntas, Hermaeus before BC 36 do not use them. Maues has single Kharoṣṭhi sa, a & pri as marks on AR but 9 issues with obv mark or letter, rev 1 or 2 letters, + da mi only obv once; no clear distinction of AR from AE marks. Apollodotus II uses 1 or 2 letters (AR 9, AE 19), but only 2 single letters. The rarity of single letters continues, Zoilus II 1, Hermaeus, Hippostratus none, Strato II, 1 AE for Azilises. Zoilus II spreads letters to AR (19 of 24). Hippostratus and Hermaeus (after 36) are equally impartial, but Hermaeus has 2 AR with 2 marks and letter, but he does not go beyond 1 letter. Azes I has commonly 1 mark and 2 letters and continues with a total of 3, usually 2 letters, 1 mark, but on type 752 1 & 2. Azilises in 20 years has 6 issues with 3 letters, 1 mark, but with Azes II's enormous coinage we even get up to 4 letters & 3 marks, and 6 letters; 2 letters & 2 marks is common. He also introduces more exotic letters, the 500 & + type marks. The multiple marks continue with subsequent kings through Abdagases. When we find a sequence even of 2 members with only 1 member varying, it is not unreasonable to suggest we have yearly differentiation, or that yearly differentiation was introduced by the Greeks rather than the Śakas

120 Double mintmark occurs 23 times with the Greek kings from Menander I to Epander (Apollodotus II 1, Hermaeus 2 before 36); mark & letter obverse 58 before 36. Apollodotus I uses both sides of the coin, 2 marks 7, mark (obv) & letter 10. Only Philoxenus AE imitates, 4 issues; add 3 Menander (may be long) posthumous. Hermaeus does not use both sides, Zoilus II apparently only 2 AE, even Strato II/III not at all. Azes I & Azilises often use both sides, and with Azes II it becomes practically universal.

121 Of 157 letters I find Azes II used 104, introducing 53, and his satraps and successors a further 26; Azilises began 9 and Azes I 7; what happened in 37/6 that Hermaeus took to Kharoṣṭhi? Does it mark his alliance with Miao/Heraus?

122 Movements and allegiances of moneyers might have left traces in family marks. We have tried to divide marks into families by resemblance; this can be arbitrary, as some marks are equally like two families, but it was the persistence of the 75 family that led to our perseverance and reconstruction. In it we put 70-3, 75-7, 83-5, 199-203 (not with MM 214-6), 367-9, 433. This covers the years 164-35, returning with Strato 123-04, going over (?with Lysias) to Antialcidas 103-095, 1 year with Theophilus 94, refuge with Nicias and Artemidorus c 90-85 and a final brief revival under Hermaeus 57-49. Another family is based on K, originally I suggest in Bactra; it consists of 152-3, 162-7, 401-2, 408, 418, 422, 175, 187. This can cover the years 194-62, 151-49; apparently the family moves to the Indian standard area under Heliocles in 137; some member may be left behind to produce 162d for Eucratides II. Strato returns with his subkings to use 162 & 165 for the years 110-00, continued by Antialcidas to 95, Archebius following 90-83. Telephus employs a member of the family c 75, and Epander from 72 uses 162, not continued beyond the 1st year of Amyntas, when we may suggest the family died out.

123 There is a family of A within pi or H, 8-10, 22, 50, 56-7, 271, 335, 442a, supplemented by a lambda family, 3, 3a, 11, 13, 27, 52, 54, 58, 319, 358, 330a, 331, 356-8. These seem to last c 200-124. We can also make a family around M, 17, 25, 29-48, 301-18, 329. We also begin

to find long sequences of the same mark, e.g. Menander I has 42 158-1, 204 154-44. Philoxenus has a run of 247, and Archebius of 236/233. The runs seem to get longer later, e.g. Zoilus has 251 53-42, Hippostratus has 12 of 91 mam, 57-46, and Hermaeus (AE) 228 36-24. Azes I continues, e.g. 186c a 53-47, 185a'a 46-36; Azilises is using 345b si 29-19, but Azes II has the longest stretches, e.g. 33c, 228, 40c, 426a throughout the reign 9BC-19AD. His successors continue long sequences; e.g. Zeionises has 500b + msa from his 2nd year on, 22-36. The differential is by letters or added marks and combinations, but there must be some meaning whether of place or supervisor in the continuants.

124 We do not doubt the preceding work capable of much improvement, whether in sequence of individual marks or types, e.g. 677-8 might be better after 736, but it can be seen that our principle of annual variation can be made to work and, more important, to lead to a history that makes sense. I apologize for not making easy reading, for there is constant reference to the marks in other books; but solving the problems of Indo-Greek/Scythian chronology is not easy work, and it is only fair to give the above a chance to be helpful. If we have ignored long posthumous issues, it may always be that the mintmark will give a hint of true date, e.g. Menander I's 240.raba. Meanwhile we hope that somebody will pay some attention and extract profit.

Appendix II

Index to MM's coin types

Diodotus I

AR 63-4 Diodotus diademed R/Zeus striding L thundering. *basileōs*
Antiochou (63 & 70 AV)

70-1 same design; *Basileōs* Diodotou

72 " " Diodotou *Sōtēros*

AE 76 Hermes *petasos* hat R/crossed *caducei*. *Basileōs* Antiochou

78 same design/upright *caduceus* *Basileōs* Diodotou

79 " " /Pallas facing with spear same legend

Diodotus II

AR 73-4 Diodotus diademed R/ as 63-4 (73 AV) *Basileōs* Diodotou

AE 81 Hermes diademed R/rev & legend as 79

82 Zeus " R/Artemis running with torch legend as 80

Euthydemus I for Antiochus III

AR 66-7 King's head diademed R/as 63 (66 AV) *Basileōs* Antiochou

Euthydemus I

AR 84-5 Euthydemus diademed R/Heracles seated L on rocks
(84 AV) *Basileōs* Euthydēmou

89 very similar; same legend

94-6 " " /Heracles seated L club on knee, same legend

AE 87-8 Heracles bare-headed R/horse prancing R " "

97 very similar ; horse higher forefeet.

Demetrius I

AR 103 King's head with elephant scalp R/Heracles standing front
crowning himself *Basileōs* Dēmētriou

110 Demetrius diademed R/Zeus facing with sceptre and thunder-
bolt. *Basileōs* Anikētou Dēmētriou

111 Demetrius in *Kausia* hat R/ rev & legend as 110

AE 106 big shield/trident *Basileōs* Dēmētriou

108 elephant head R/*caduceus* legend as 106

109 Heracles' head with club R/Artemis facing with bow & quiver;

same legend

sq 112 Demetrius, elephant scalp R/thunderbolt As 110, bilingual

Antimachus I

AR 124 King *kausia* hat R/Poseidon standing front Basileōs theou Antimachou

128 Diodotus I diademed R/his type 63-4 Diodotou Sōtēros/basileuontos theou Antimachou

129 Euthydemus I diademed R/his type 94 Euthydēmou theou/basileuontos theou Antimachou

AE 130 elephant standing R/winged Nike standing L; legend as 124

131 " " L/ " " " L " "

132 " " R/ " thunderbolt Basileōs Antimachou

Apollodotus I All types bilingual

AR r 203 elephant standing R/humped bull standing R Basileōs Apollodotou Sōtēros

sq 206 elephant standing R + symbols/as 203 same legend

sq 207 as 203 both sides

sq 209 Apollo radiant facing with bow/tripod same legend

sq 210i Apollo non-radiant seated L/tripod

Square coins would be familiar to Indians from their own punch-marked. The bull is the Indian Śiva's

Euthydemus II

AR 113 Euthydemus diademed R/Heracles facing with club Basileōs Euthydēmou

118 Apollo head diademed R/tripod same legend

120 as 118 but different style " "

Demetrius II

AR 101 Demetrius diademed R/Pallas facing with shield & spear; MM includes La's 1 B&R rim & 1a pearled on 101; Basileōs Dēmētriou Agathocles

AR 137 Agathocles diademed R/Zeus facing holding Hecate Basileōs Agathokleous

141 as 137; legend Basileōs dikaïou Agathokleous

142 Alexander R/Zeus enthroned L Alexandrou tou philippou/basileuontos dikaïou Agathokleous

143 Antiochus II R/Zeus thundering L Antiochou Nikātoros/basileuontos dikaïou Agathokleous

144 Diodotus I R/as type 64 Diodotou Soteris/ as 142-43

- 145 Euthydemus I R/ as type 89 Euthydēmou theou/as142-43
 146 Demetrius I R/as type 103 Dēmētriou anīkētou/as 142-43
 149 Indian god facing/ditto brahmi inscription Basileōs
 Agathocleous
 AE 147 Dionysius diademed R/panther standing R & vine Basileōs
 Agatholeous
 sq 151 lion standing R/goddess walking L with flower same legend
 Pantaleon
 AR 157 lion Pantaleon diademed R/Zeus enthroned L holding Hecate
 Basileōs Pantaleontos
 AE 160 Dionysus diademed (without spear)/ as 147 same legend
 161 as 151 legend as 157 but 151 & 161 Gk. & brahmi.
 Euthydemus II, Agathocles & Pantaleon use nickel for AE.
 Eucratides I
 AR 166 Eucratides helmeted R/Heracles facing crowning himself
 Basileōs Eukratidou
 168 Eucratides diademed R/Dioscuri charging R same legend
 170 " helmeted R/rev & legend as 168
 175-7 as 170 (175-6 AV) Basileōs megalou Eukratidou
 179 Eucratides helmeted L throwing javelin/rev & legend as 175
 184 as 179/Heliocles & Laodice R Basileus megas Eukratidēs/
 Hēliokleous kai Laodikēs
 182 Eucratides helmeted R/Heliocles & Laodice legend as 184
 181 as 182/palms & pilei of Dioscuri legend as 166
 180 Eucratides diademed R/rev & legend as 181
 188 " helmeted R/Dioscuri standing front legend as 184
 bilingual
 AE 171 Apollo diademed R/horse standing L Basileōs Eucratidou
 (Eucratides II?)
 sq 172 Eucratides diademed R/palms & pilei legend as 166
 185 " helmeted R/Dioscuri charging R legend as 177
 187 as 185/single Dioskuros charges legend as 185
 186 as 185 but different style
 sq 189 Eucratides helmeted L throwing javelin/Nike standing R
 Basileōs megalou Eukratidou, bilingual
 sq 190 Eucratides helmeted L/Dioscuri charging R legend as 189

- sq 193 Eucratides helmeted R/Nike standing R legend as 189
 sq 194 " " R/city Kapiśa seated L " " "
 sq 195 " diademed R/palms & pilei " " "
 Type 166 is correcting Demetrius' 103

Antimachus II

AR 135 winged Nike standing L/horseman galloping R Basileōs
 nikēphorou Antimachou (bilingual *Jayadharasa*)

AE sq 136 aegis/wreath & palm legend as 135 bilingual

Zōilus I

AR 256 Zōilus diademed R/Heracles facing with club Basileōs dikaiou
 Zōilou bilingual)

257 as 256 but Nike on Heracles' shoulder

AE sq 258 Heracles bare-headed R/club & cased bow in wreath legend
 as 256-7

Menander I

All bilingual Basileōs Sōtēros Menandrou all types

AV 211 helmeted Pallas R/Attic owl no legend

AR 213 " " R/ " " legend

212 Menander diademed R/Pallas standing L legend vertical GK
 only

214 " " R/ " " L thundering

217 " helmeted R/ as 214

219 " diademed L throwing javelin/ as 214

220 " " L " " /Pallas standing

R legends continuous

221 as 219-20/as 220 legends interrupted

223 as 219-20/Pallas standing L shield sloping Legend Gk
 continuous, Kharoṣṭhi broken

224 as 219-20/ as 223 legends interrupted

225 " "/Pallas standing R shield horizontal Legends of 224

226 Menander helmeted L throwing javelin/Pallas standing L

AE Legends as before, Gk. open at the bottom. All types sq.

231 helmeted Pallas R/horse prancing R

a 232 Menander diademed R/dolphin R

l 233 oxhead facing/tripod

l 234 camel standing L/oxhead facing

Appendix II

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- 235 helmeted Pallas R/Attic owl
 s 236 elephant standing L/goad
 q 237 obv & rev as 220 Gk. legend open L
 a 238 helmeted Pallas R/Nike standing L with palm
 r 239 " " R/Pallas standing L as 225
 e 240 elephant head R/club
 241 wheel/palm branch
 242 helmeted Pallas R/Nike standing R with palm
 246 " " R/big round shield
 247 Menander diademed L throwing javelin/Nike as 242
 248 Heracles bare-headed R/lion skin
 249 bora's head/palm branch
 250 Menander helmeted L/Nike as 242
 251 " " R/ " " "

Agathocleia & Strato I

AR 303 Agathocleia diademed R/warrior walking R Basilissēs
 theotropou Agathokleias

304 as 303 legend Agathkleias basilissēs/mahārājasa tratarasa
 dhramikasa Stratasā

305 Strato & Agathocleia R/Pallas standing L Basileōs Sōtēros
 Stratōnos kai Agathokleias/mahārājasa tratarasa Stratasā Agathukriyāe

306 as 305 but Kh. mahārājasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasā
 AE sq Helmeted Pallas (Queen?) R/Heracles seated L on rock as
 84; legend as 303

Strato I

AE 308 Strato young, diademed R/Pallas standing L thundering
 Basileōs Sōtēros Stratōnos

309 Strato young helmeted R/rev & legend as 308

310 " " diademed L throwing javelin/as 308 same legend

311 as 308; Kh legend as 306

312 as 308/Pallas facing thundering legend as 311

313 as 309/as 309 legend as 311

314 as 310 but different portrait/as 308-9

AE 333 Heracles bare-headed R with club/Nike standing R with palm
 legend as 308

Strato I returning

315 as 308 but legend bilingual Basileōs Sōtēros kai dikaiou
Stratōnos

316 Strato diademed R/Pallas standing L holds Nike legend 315

317 Strato helmeted R/Pallas L thundering as 308, 315

318 " " R/Pallas facing

319 " diademed L throwing javelin/rev & legend as 315

320 " " beardless R/Pallas L thundering Basileōs

Sotēros dikaiou Stratōnos

322 as 320 R/Pallas R thundering same legend

324 as 320 R/Pallas facing thundering " "

326 Strato helmeted beardless R/rev & legend as 320

327 " " throwing javelin L/rev & legend as 320

328 " diademed bearded R/rev & legend as 320

329 " " " R/rev & legend as 324

330 " " older beardless R/as 320 Basileōs epiphanous

Sōtēros Stratōnos

332 as 330 helmeted R/rev & legend as 330

AE 334 Heracles with club R/Nike stands R with palm legend as
330

sq 335 Head of Apollo R/bow, quiver with strap legend as 330

sq 336 Apollo standing facing with bow/tripod same legend

Heliocles

AR 284 Heliocles diademed R/Zeus standing facing Basileōs dikaiou
Hēliokleous

286 Heliocles helmeted R/Zeus enthroned holding Nike L as 284

288 as 284 but legend bilingual

290 " helmeted R/rev & legends as 288

291 " diademed L throwing javelin/rev & legends as 288

292 " helmeted L " " /rev & legends as 288

AE sq 294 Heliocles diademed R/elephant standing L legend as 284

sq 295 " helmeted R/rev & legend as 294

sq 296 elephant standing R/bull standing R legend as 294

sq 297 " " L/rev & legend as 294

Eucratides II

AR 164 Eucratides diademed R/Apollo head L Basileōs Eukratidou

173 " helmeted R/as 164 Basileōs Sōtēros Eukratidou

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AE 171 Apollo head diademed R/horse standing L legend as 164
sq 174 Eucratides helmeted R/Dioscuri charging as 173 bilingual
Plato

AR 196 Plato diademed R/Helios radiate on quadriga R Basileōs
epiphanous Platōnos

197 Plato helmeted R/rev & legend as 196

198 " diademed R/Helios radiate on quadriga facing as 196

199 " " R/Helios radiate standing legend as before

Menander II All bilingual

AE 230 Menander helmeted R/horse prancing R Basileōs dikaiou
Menandrou

229 Menander helmeted R/Nike standing R with palm same
legend

228 " diademed R/rev & legend as 229

AE sq 252 Pallas standing L with spear & shield/lion standing L
legend as 230

253 Pallas standing R with spear & shield/rev & legend as 252

254 as 253/lion standing R same legend

Philoxenus

AR 337 Philoxenus diademed R/horseman prancing R Basileōs
anikētou Philoxenou

338-9 as 337 but bilingual 338 T r 339 D sq

340-1 King helmeted R/rev & legend as 337 bilingual T r D sq

342-3 " " with javelin L/as 340-1 bilingual D sq, T r

343a as 343 (T) but rough 'Medusa' helmet

AE sq 344 Demeter with cornucopia standing L/bull standing R legend
as 338-9

345 Demeter as before standing front/rev & legend as 344

346 Helios radiate standing front/winged Nike standing R legend
as 344

Antialcidas

AR 269 Antialcidas diademed R/Zeus enthroned L + Nike & half
elephant Basileōs nikēphorou Antialkidou (Gk only)

270 A. helmeted R/rev & legend as 269

271 A. *kausia* R/rev & legend as 269

273 A. diademed R/Zeus standing front, elephant & Nike walks

L Gk legend as 269, bilingual (*jayadharasa*)

274 A. diademed throwing javelin L/rev & legend as 273

275 as 269, bilingual

276 " " but Zeus holds palm in stead of Nike

277 as 271, bilingual

278 " " " but elephant walking L

279 A. helmeted R/as 269 but bilingual

AE sq 268 Antialcidas/Lysias

sq 280 Zeus bare-headed with thunderbolt R/palms & pilei of Dioscuri legend as 274

r 281 as 280 round

sq 283 A. diademed R/elephant standing R legend as 274

Lysias

AR 259 Lysias, elephant scalp R/Heracles standing front crowning himself Basileōs anikētou Lysiou (Gk only)

260 Lysias helmeted throwing javelin L/rev & legend as 259

261 Lysias diademed R/rev & legend as 259 but bilingual

262 as 259 but bilingual

263 Lysias in *kausia* R/rev & legend as 261

264 Lysias helmeted R/rev & legend as 261

265 Lysias helmeted throwing javelin L/rev & legend as 261

AE sq 266 Heracles bare-headed R with club/elephant standing R legend as 261

r 267 as 266 but round

Diomedes

AR 347 Diomedes diademed R/Dioscuri charging R Basileōs Sōtēros Diomēdou bilingual

349 Diomedes helmeted R/rev & legends as 347

351 " " throwing javelin L/rev & legend as 347

352 " diademed R/Dioscuri standing front legend as

347

353 " helmeted R/rev & legend as 352

Polyxenus

AR 298 Polyxenus diademed R/Pallas standing L thundering Basileōs epiphanous Sōtēros Poluxenou

AE sq 300 Pallas helmeted R/aegis legend as 298

Appendix II

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Peucolaus

AR 369 Peucolaus diademed R/Zeus standing L with sceptre Basileōs dikaiou kai Sōtēros Peukolaou

AE 370 Artemis facing taking arrow/city goddess standing L legend as 369

Theophilus

AR 371 Theophilus diademed R/Pallas seated L with Nike Basileōs autokratoros Theophilou

372 as 371/Heracles standing front Basileōs dikaiou Theophilou bilingual

374 as 371/Heracles standing facing crowning himself legend as 372

AE 375 Heracles' head diademed R/cornucopia legend as 372

376 Heracles' head with lion skin R/club " " "

Archebius

AR 356 Archebius diademed R/Zeus with sceptre & thunderbolt front Basileōs dikaiou nikēphorou Archebiou

358 Archebius helmeted R/rev & legend as 356 but bilingual

355 " " throwing javelin L/as 358 Gk only

362 as 355/rev & legend as 358

361 A. diademed throwing javelin L/rev & legend as 358

363 as 356/Zeus front with bolt & shield legend as 358

364 as 358/rev & legend as 363

AE sq 365 Zeus bust & sceptreR/palms & pilei legend as 356

sq 366 Archebius helmeted R/as 365 legend as 358

r 367 Nike standing L with wreath & palm/owl R legend as 358

368 elephant standing R/owl R legend as 358

Artemidorus

AR 398 Artemidorus diademed R/Artemis standing L shooting Basileōs anikētou Artemidorou

400 A. helmeted R/rev & legend as 398 but bilingual

402 as 398/Nike standing R legend as 400

AE sq 404 Artemis standing front taking arrow/bull standing R legend as 400

Nicias

AR 377 Nicias diademed R/Pallas front thundering Basileōs Sōtēros

Nikiou

378 as 377/armed warrior holding palm legend 377 bilingual

379 Nicias helmeted R/rev & legend as 378

AE sq 380 Posidon bust R with trident/dolphin & anchor legend as 378

r 381 Nicias diademed R/horseman prancing R legend as 378

382 as 381

383 as 381 but s, o & o sq

Apollodotus II All bilingual. Kh. *mahārājasa tratarasa A.*

AR 425 A. diademed R/Pallas standing L thundering Basileōs Sōtēros Apollodotou

424 as 425 Gk Basileōs Sōtēros kai philopatoros Apollodotou

423 as 425, Gk Basileōs megalou Sōtēros.etc

AE sq 204 Apollo enthroned R with bow/tripod legend as 425

sq 426 Apollo standing R stringing bow/tripod " " 424

sq 427 as 426 but legends on *all* sides

sq 428 as 426 but legend as 204

r 431 as 428 round, legend rectangular

432 as 431 " circular

sq 433 Apollo standing front stringing bow/as 428

r 434 as 431 in wreath round coin/tripod Basileōs Apollodotou

435 in B&R sq Apollo standing R strings bow/tripod no GK

sq 436 as 435 sq no Gk

sq 437 as 436/royal diadem no Gk

r 438 as 437 round

Telephus bilingual (Kh *kalanokramasa*)

AR 451 serpent god front/Helios radiate & attendant Basileōs euergetou Tēlephou

AE sq 452 Zeus seated half-L/armed male walks R legend as 451

sq 453 as 452/male squatting legend as 451

Epander

AR 301 Epander diademed R/as 214 Basileōs nikēphorou Epandrou

AE sq winged Nike standing R with palm/bull standing R as 301

Amyntas

AR 385 Amyntas helmeted R/Zeus enthroned L + Pallas Basileōs nikatoros Amyntou

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- 386 as 385/city goddess enthroned L with cornucopia as 385
 387 Amyntas diademed R/as 385 legend as 385 but bilingual
 389 as 385/rev & legend as 387
 391 Amyntas in *kausia* R/as 387
 392 Amyntas diademed throwing javelin L/rev & legend as 387
 393 as 392 but A. helmeted/rev & legend as 392
 394 D of 393
 AE 395 Amyntas helmeted R/as 301 legend as 387
 sq 396 Amyntas with cap R & trident/Pallas standing R draped legend
 as 387

397 as 396 without trident/rev & legend as 396

Dionysius

AR 454 Dionysius diademed R/as 301 Basileōs Sōtēros Dionysiou
 bilingual

AE sq 455 as 426 legend as 454

r 456 as 455 but round, legends as 454 but Gk sq

sq 457 as 455/royal diadem cf 437 no Gk legend

Zoilus II

AR 458 Zoilus diademed R/as 301 Basileōs Sōtēros Zōilou

459 as 458 but omega of Zoilus different bilingual

AE sq 460 legend as 459

461 as 460 but legend as 458 ('w' omega)

462 Apollo as 460 + elephant legend as 458 461

463 te to 2te 462

464 elephant walking R/tripod no Gk legend

465 as 464/Apollo standing R no Gk

466 as 465/Apollo standing R holding bow no Gk

Apollophanes bilingual no AE

AR 467 Apollophanes helmeted R/as 301 Basileōs Sōtēros
 Apollphanou

Hippostratus

AR 439 Hippostratus diademed R/city Goddess standing L with
 cornucopia Basileōs Sōtēros Hippostratou

441 as 439/horseman on prancing steed legend as 439

443 as 441 but Basileōs megalou Sōtēros Hippostratou

445 as 441/horseman standing legend as 443

AE sq 446 triton front with rudder/city goddess standing L with crown & palm legend as 439

447 as 426 455 legend as 439

sq 448 as 426 sq

449 Zeus seated half-L/horse standing L legend as 439

450 d to 449 H

Hermaeus & Calliope

407 King & queen R/king on prancing horse R Basileōs Sōtēros
Hermaïou kai Kalliopēs

Hermaeus

AR 409 Hermaeus diademed R/Zeus enthroned L with sceptre
Basileōs Sōtēros Hermaïou

410 king on prancing horse R/rev & legend as 409

412 Hermaeus helmeted R/rev & legend as 409 but bilingual

414 " diademed R/rev & legend as 412

418 as 414 but coarser

420 as 414 debased metal

AE sq 416 Hermaeus in cap R/horse standing R legend as 409

sq 417 Hermaeus in cap radiate/rev & legend as 416

421 Hermes diademed R/rev & legend as 409

Strato II all bilingual

AR 469 Strato diademed R/as 301 Basileōs Sōtēros Stratōnos

AE 470 as 447 legend as 469

471 d to 470 te

Strato II & III

AR 473 as 469 Basileōs Sōtēros Stratōnos kai phil Stratōnos

PL 474 as 470 legend as 473

475 d to 474 te

Strato III

AR 468 Strato diademed R/as 469 Basileōs Sōtēros Stratōnos

PL 472 as 470 no Gk legend

Bhadrayāsas

AR 476 king diademed stereotyped R/as 469 Gk ? mahārājasa tratarasa
Bhadrayāsasa

Maues

AR sq 677 horse walking R head L/Nike walking R no legend

678 as 677/arrow in wreath no legend

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- 679 horse standing L/as 678 no legend
 680 Nike standing R/Dioscuri galloping R dedi (=?)
 699 Zeus standing L with sceptre/winged Nike standing R
 bilingual Basileōs basileōn megalou Maou/rājādirājasa mahatasa Moasa
 sq 701 Helios & charioteer galloping R/Zeus enthroned L legend
 as 699
 712 as 701 round
 714 city goddess enthroned R/Zeus Nikephoros front head legend
 as 699
 729 as 699
 AE sq 705 horse standing R/bow & quiver Basileōs Maou bilingual
 sq 706 " " R head L/rev & legend as 705
 707 elephant head R/caduceus legend as 705
 sq 732 Apollo front with bow & arrow/tripod legend as 705
 702 Heracles standing front with club/lion walking legend as 699
 sq 703 = 732 (MM wrong illustration; if 703a = 732, legend as 699)
 708 Artemis radiate standing R/bull standing L subsequent
 legends as 699
 sq 709 king standing front with goad/aegis
 sq 710 elephant walking R/bull standing L
 sq 711 moon goddess standing front + stars/winged Nike L
 sq 715 Posidon standing L foot on god/yakṣi between vines
 sq 717 " " with thunderbolt L foot on god/as 715
 sq 718 Posidon as above + *aphiaston*/ yakṣi & male vines as 715
 sq 719 king riding horse R/Pallas standing R + shield & spear
 sq 720 as 719/city goddess front + wheel
 sq 721 as 715 but arm on knee/as 715
 r 722 as 720 but round
 sq 723 Zeus enthroned + small figure on L/city goddess standing
 front with sceptre
 sq 724 Zeus enthroned L + half-elephant/Heracles standing front
 with club
 sq 725 Nike standing L/god with pointed cap front
 sq 726 Zeus standing L with sceptre/as 725
 sq 727 god with club & trident walking L/goddess with fillet standing
 R

sq 728 = 711

sq 731 = 718

sq 733 king riding R with long spear/winged Nike standing L =?
719

sq 734 elephant walking R/king seated facing cross-legged

sq 735 as 710 but ground line for animals

Maues & Machene

AR 736 Queen enthroned R/Zeus standing L with Nike & sceptre
basilisēs theotropou Machēnēs/rājātirājasa mahatasa Moasa

Arsaces (no Kh)

AR 698 horse standing R/bow & case Arsakou basileōs theou

Vonones/Spalahores

AR 681 king riding L lowered spear/Zeus front with sceptre &
thunderbolt Basileōs basileōn megalou Onōnou/mahārājabhrātā
dhramikasa Spalahorasa

AE sq 683 Heracles front with club & skin/Pallas L with spear &
shield legend as 381

sq 685 as 698 Basileōs adelphou Spal no Kh

Vonones/Spalagadama

AR 686 as 681 Gk as 681/Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa

AE sq 691 king as 683 but Kh as 686

Vonones/Spalagadama/Spalahores

AE sq 691 king as 686 in frame/Heracles seated L on rock

Spalirios dikaiou adelphou tou basileōs/Kh as 686

Vonones/Spalirises

AR 689 as 681 Basileōs adelphou Spalirisou/mahārājabhrātā dhramiasa
Spalirishasa

Spalirises

AR 693 as 689 bilingual Basileōs megalou Spalirisou (Kh mahatakasa)

AE sq 694 king riding R with whip in frame/radiate god ^{1/4} L

Azes I all bilingual

AR 737 Zeus standing L with sceptre/winged Nike standing R Basileōs
basileōn megalou Azou (rājārājasa)

739 king riding L as 693/Nike front head L legend as 737

743 as 739/city goddess standing L with lamp & palm as 737

745 as 739/Zeus standing L with sceptre legend as 737

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- 747 as 739/Zeus front thundering with sceptre Legend as 737
 749 as 739/as 747 but sceptre upright legend as 737
 750 as 749 but sq omicron
 752 as 739/as 301 legend as 737
 753 as 752 but omicron round (D to 752 T)
 AE sq 742 as 727 bilingual legend as 737 (kh mahatasa)
 sq 761 king riding camel R/bull standing R lowered head As 742
 sq 740 Posidon as 715 but hand on knee/as 715 legend as 742
 r 754 king riding R as 753/bull standing R legend as 742
 sq 755 as 754, round omicron legend as 742 Kh 4 sides
 sq 756 as 755 Kh legend on 3 sides
 sq 758 as 755 sq omicron Kh 4 sides
 sq 757 as 755 but coarser
 sq 760 as 756/Heracles seated on rock in frame legend as 742 Kh
 3 sides
 Azes I & Azilises
 AR 764 as 743 Basileōs basileōn megalou Azou/mahārājasarājarājasa
 mahatasa Ayiliṣasa
 Azilises all bilingual legend to 812 Basileōs basileōn megalou Azilisou/
 Kh as 764
 AR 767 as 764
 772 Zeus enthroned R/Dioscuri charging R
 774 Zeus standing half-L holding Nike/as 772
 776 King riding R with whip/Dioscuri standing front
 778 as 776/single Dioscuros front
 780 " " /deity standing L with shield, palm & wreath
 781 " " /city goddess L, Zeus on R front
 783 " " /Zeus standing R with sceptre oblique
 785 " " /GajaLakṣmī
 801 =767 round omicron
 803 as 767/goddess standing L with wreath & palm
 805 as 767/as 214
 AE 787 god standing R with club & Nike/as 767
 789 King standing R armed/goddess stands R giving wreath
 790 Hephaistos with tongs front/lion walking R
 791 Heracles crowning himself front/horse standing R

793 Lakṣmī front on elephant/as 767

795 city goddess enthroned L/Heracles standing L with club &
Nike

796 elephant R/bull L

797 " L/bull R

798 " L/bull L

799 " R/bull R

807 as 767/bull standing R

sq 769 as 807 sq

808 as 807 sq omicron

810 as 807/bull standing L

811 as 776/elephant standing R

812 as 811 framed/Heracles seated L on rock framed

Azilises & Azes II

AR 766 as 764/as 214 Gk as 767/mahārājasa rājarājasa mahatasa Ayasa

AE 763 as 791 legend as 766

Azes II all bilingual Basileōs basileōn megalou Azou/Kh 814, 825-46,
853-6 as 766; 816, 848, 858ff AR *rājādirājasa*

AR 814 as 776/as 214

816 as 814 *rājādirāja*

825 as 814/Pallas front with spear, shield behind

826 as 814/Pallas as 825 but head R

828 as 814/Posidon standing R with trident

836 as 767/Zeus standing L holding Nike

846 as 814/Pallas standing R shield half behind

848 as 814/Pallas standing R Kh *rājādi-*

853 as 814/Zeus as 836

854 = 853 = 855

856 = 855 sq omicron (above often r on D, sq on T)

858 as 855 *rājādi-*

859 = 858

867 as 814/as 848 debased metal

b 868 as 814/as 867 + star billon

870 as 814/as 858

873 as 814/as 439 Gk corrupt mahārājasa mahatasa dhramiasa
rājādirājasa Ayasa

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- AE 817 elephant standing R/bull standing R legend as 814
 820 as 817 *rājādi*-
 sq 821 as 817/lion standing R *rājādi*-
 sq. 822 as 820 mahārājasa mahatasa Ayasa
 sq 823 as 821 legend as 814
 sq 833 as 836/bull standing R
 sq 834 as 833 *rājādi*-
 838 Hermes with *caduceus* ^{1/4}R/as 873 legend as 814
 839 lion standing R/as 838 same legend
 840 Lakṣmī on lotus with lion/as 817 *rājādi*-1
 841 as 840, no lion
 sq 842 Lakṣmī standing front with palm & flower *rājādi*-
 831 city goddess enthroned L/Hermes with *caduceus* ^{1/4}L legend
 as 814
 sq 843 as 842/bull standing L *rājādi*-
 sq 844 as 790/lion walking R "
 sq 845 Lion standing R/bull standing L *rājādi*-
 850 bull standing R/lion standing R "
 860 King sitting cross-legged with ankus/Hermes standing L with
caduceus legend as 814
 861 King as 860 but whip for ankus/rev & legend as 860
 864 as 861 *rājādi*-
 865 as 860/Pallas front with spear & shield legend as 814
 869 = 850
 872 as 861 legend as 822
 sq 874 as 814/lion walking R legend ?
 sq 875 as 874/as 865 *rājādi*-
 sq 876 as 874/god R hand raised *rājādi*-
 sq 877 as 874/god L hand raised R on hip *rājādi*-
 sq 878 King riding L with whip/god facing as 877 ? *rājādi*-
 Kharasta
 b 891 as 814/Pallas standing R armed kṣatrapasa Artasa putrasa
 iph..as
 892 as 891 style modified Gk again corrupt, Kh different
 AE 887 as 814/lion walking R Charaostei satrapei
 Artauou/kṣatrapasa pra Kharastasa putrasa

888 as 814/as 877 legend as 887

Rajuvula

AR 894 as 814/Zeus holding Nike L Gk corrupt
kṣatrapasa...Rujuvulasa

901 Rajuvula diademed R/as 214 basileōs basileōs soterōs Raii/
kṣatrapasa apratihatacakrasa Rujuvulasa

902 as 901 rougher portrait

904 as 901 but *mahākṣatrapasa*

PL 905 lion walking R/Heracles standing front with club legend as
904

906 horse standing R/as 905 satrapou megalou../kṣatrapasa
mahatasa dhramiasa

907 Lakṣmī seated front/GajaLakṣmī legend brahmi

Indravarman

b 897 as 814/Pallas standing R armed Gk corrupt/Vijayamitrassa
putrasa Itravarmasa apracarajasa

1135 as 897 + Gondophar symbol 503 legend as 897

Aspavarman

b 898 as 614/as 897 Gk as for Azes/Itravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa
strategasa ajayatasa

1136 as 776/Zeus standing R with sceptre Gk corrupt strategasa
tratarasa jayatasa Itravarmaputrasa Armavarmasa

Sassan

AR 1104 Sassan coiffed L/helmeted Nike walking L Gk corrupt/
mahārājasa Aspabhrātaputrasa tratarasa Sasasa

b 1125 as 814/Zeus standing front holding Nike basileuontos
basileōs Sasou/maharajasa rājātirājasa devavratasa Gudapharasa Sasasa

1138 as 814 +503/Zeus standing R with sceptre Kh as 1125

1137 as 1136 Gk corrupt/mahārājasa rājātirājasa apratihatacakrasa
devavratasa Sasasa

1139 as 1138 Kh mahārājasa mahatasa tratarasa Sasasa

Zeionises

AR 879 as 814/King front crowned by Nike Mannolou uiou satrapou
Zeionisou/Manigulaputrasa kṣatrapasa putrasa Jihuniasa

881 as 814/as 879, crowned by city goddess legend as 879

880 as 814/?king front with Nike & palm " " "

AE 883 bull walking R lion walking R Gk corrupt/as 880

sq 885 as 817/bull walking L legend as 883

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sq 886 as 821/as 883 Manigula-Putrasa Jihuniasa mahakṣatrapasa
Gondophar

AR 1067-71 bust of Gondophar L/Nike crowns him enthroned R no
Kh, non-Gandhara coinage

1080 Gondophar enthroned R/Nike standing R with palm Basileōs
basileōn/megalou Undepharun

AE 1081-5 Parthian bust R/as 1080 basilēs sōtros

Unopherrou/mahārājasa Gudopharasa tratarasa (Gk begins at
different places 1082-5)

AR 1112 King riding L crowned by flying Nike/Śiva front with trident
Basileōs basileōn megalou Undopherrou/mahārāja rājarājasa tratarasa
devavratasa Gudapharasa

1116 as 814/as 1112 Basileōs basileōn Gondopharou/mahārāja
rājarāja mahata dhramia devavrata Gudaphara

b 1128 as 814/as 897 Gk as 1116, Kh as 1112 uninflected

1129 as 814/as 1138 legends as 1128

1134 as 1112/as 1128 " " "

AE sq 1113 as 1112 Gk as 1112 Kh mahārājasa rājarājasa mahatasa
Gudapharasa

r 1114 as 1113

1115 as 1113 Kh inserts dhramika apratihata devavratasa (G)

Orthagnes

AR 1073 Orthagnes bust L/as 879 -/Basileōs basileōn megas Orthagnes
1074-5 as 1073 but different & unintelligible Gk letters after name

AE 1072 & 1094 Gondophar bust L/Nike standing R with palm Gk
as 1081/mahārājasa Gadanasa nisadasa hinasa vanidasa javati
devavrata

1094 as 1094 but Kh om. hinasa & emend to vavenidasa

1096 as 1073/as 1094 Gk as 1073/mahārājasa rājatirājasa mahatasa

Gudapharasa Gadanasa

1097 as 1096 + star megalou for megas Orthagnes

1098 as 1096 but megalou Orthagnou

1099 as 1096 but Gk s, both os & theta sq

Otanēs

AR Otanēs bust L/as 1067 -/Otanēs uois Orthagnou basileus ub

Abdagases

AR 1106 Abdagases bust L/as 1072 Gk corrupt/mahārājasa rājarājasa
tratarasa dhramiasa Avadagaśasa

- 1107 as 1106 but Nike standing R legend as 1106
 1117 as 814/as 1138 Basileu Apa Undipherou adelphidios/
 Gadapharabhrātāputrasa mahārājasa tratarasa Avagadaśasa
 1118 as 1117 adding dhramiasa to Kh
 1119 as 1117 Basileōs Gondophara bra Abdagasou/
 Gadapharabhrātāputrasa mahārājasa Avagadaśasa
 1120 as 1119 but Gk basileuontos basileōn Abdagasou
 1121 as 1119 but Kh as 1117
 1122 King riding L as 1136/as 1117 also legends 1122ff
 b 1126 " " R/Zeus standing front holding Nike
 1131 as 1117
 1132 as 1122/as 1117
 1140 = 1132

AE 1088 Abdagases bust R/as 1107 Basileōs Sōtēros Abdagasou/
 mahārājasa tratarasa Avagadaśasa

- 1089 as 1088 but *basileus* for *basileōs*
 1090 as 1106/Nike standing L legends as 1088
 1091 as 1106/Nike faces R " " "
 1092 as 1089 crude Gk corrupt/Avagadaśasa... corrupt

Kujula Kadphises

AE 1049 Kujula bust R/Heracles head R standing front with club
 R Kozoulo Kadphisou Kossono/Kujula Kasasa Kusana yavugasa

- 1050 as 1049 but Heracles' head L legend as 1049
 1055 bull walking R/camel walking L Gk corrupt/mahārayasa
 rayatirayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa
 1056 as 1055 but om *devaputrasa*
 1057 as 1055 but Kh legend differently disposed
 1058 as 1055 1057 Kh " " "
 1059 as 1058 Kh mahārājasa rājātirājasa Kujula Kasasa

Vaseshka

b 1147 as 814/as 1138 Basileus Basileōn sōtēr megas/maharajasa
 rājātirājasa tratarasa Vaheshasa

Pacores

AE 1102 Pacores but L/Nike standing R with palm Basileus basileōn
 megas Pacores/mahārājasa rājātirājasa mahatasa Pakurasa

- 1103 as 1102 + star

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ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BMC	British Museum Catalogue, John Allan et. al. old
CMB	Sealy's Coins & Medals Bulletin
Ha	Haughton Salke Catalogue
IMC	Indian Museum Catalogue (Calcutta), IMCS Supplement to IMC
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Research Institute, Varanasi
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
KM	Kabul Museum Catalogue
La	A. N. Lahiri, Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins
MM	Michael Mitchiner, Indo-Greek & Indo-Scythian Coinage
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
PMC	Punjab Museum Catalogue (Lahore, R B Whitehead)
Qx	No. x in TMQ
Sim	A Simonetta as quoted by La

Tarn	W. W. Tarn, <i>The Greeks & Bactrians in India</i>
TMA	R. Curiel, <i>Tresors Monetaires d' Afghanistan</i>
TMQ	R. Curiel, & Fussman <i>Tresors monetaires de Qunduz</i>

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